

SOMERSET HOUSE PAST AND PRESENT

RAYMOND NEEDHAM
AND
ALEXANDER WEBSTER

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SOMERSET HOUSE

PAST AND PRESENT

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SOMERSET HOUSE

PAST AND PRESENT

BY

RAYMOND NEEDHAM
" " "

AND

ALEXANDER WEBSTER

NEW YORK

E. P. DUTTON AND COMPANY
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PHELAN
To

E. E. STOODLEY, Esq.

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Preface

ALTHOUGH this work was primarily designed to gather into compact form the records of notable events and curious anecdotes which preserve what may be known of the story of Somerset House, research has revealed the existence of much cognate matter interesting to the student antiquary and here included in the hope that it may lighten a by-path of the Metropolitan topography.

Unhappily for the perfect continuity of the narrative the data on which it must rest are widely scattered in the literature of three centuries. Here and there in places the least likely valuable information comes to light, so that at no point would it be wise to assert that oblivion has supervened.

The most complete account of Somerset's palace hitherto existing was that compiled by Samuel Pegge, F.S.A., and printed as Part IV. of his *Curalia* in 1806. This work describes with the utmost care all the buildings pulled down by the Duke both in the Strand and in other parts of London, and furnishes a vindication of his conduct except as regards the irreverent removal of human remains from Pardon Churchyard and the Charnel House of St. Paul's. In the *Home Counties Magazine* for January, 1899, a brief history was given from the pen of the late Mr. Heaton Jacob. But in matters of more popular interest the information supplied by these authorities is extremely meagre. Much that is new has been discovered,

and facts bearing upon Pegge's thesis have thrown a clearer light upon Somerset's early connection with the site.

Of the original fabric of the palace nothing but a rough sketch can be pieced together, the alterations and extensions carried out by Inigo Jones during the first decade of the seventeenth century being barely mentioned by contemporary topographers, and but cursorily noticed in summary bills of costs preserved at the Public Record Office. Fortunately, however, we find the help of numerous engraved pictures illustrating the building at every period since its foundation, from Van den Wyngaerde's drawing and the crude outline of Ralph Agas's map to the highly finished aquatints of Malton's *Picturesque Tour through London and Westminster*. In fact the only adequate description of the building is the pictorial one.

Excepting Mr. A. F. Pollard's scholarly volume on *England under Protector Somerset*, which is not exclusively biographical, no separate life of Somerset exists, although the materials for such a work are copious. The Protector occupies an important place in English history and the full biography will no doubt one day be forthcoming; but for the present a considerable space in this volume is devoted to recapitulating the main phases of his career as showing amid what influences the first foundations of Somerset House were laid.

At various periods in the seventeenth century the palace becomes so intimately involved with the current movements in politics as to necessitate excursions into the broader fields of English History. Particularly in connection with the Catholic revival when the activities of Henrietta Maria's priests provoked Parliamentary recriminations and fanned the Revolution into flame, a glance at the political arena could not rightly be avoided. Indeed sufficient prominence has not hitherto been given to the part played by the Catholics of Somerset House

in aggravating the irritant effects of Charles's attitude towards his Parliament. Most misguided of all that monarch's courses was that which brought his own integrity as a Protestant under suspicion and permitted the Queen's household to become a mere outpost of the Swiss Guard.

In another respect, moreover, the time of Charles I. is significant. It embraces the accumulation and begins the dispersal of the most notable collection of artistic treasures ever possessed by a single individual. With a splendid enthusiasm and genuine discrimination this monarch provided a rich inheritance for the English people, little dreaming that at his death it would be scattered abroad to raise funds for his enemies. The great interest attaching to the sale of Charles's belongings necessitated the introduction of particulars too numerous and diverse to be included in the general history of Somerset House, and they have accordingly been transferred to an appendix.

With regard to the modern building no attempt has been made to describe in detail the numerous departments and institutions for which at one time or another it has provided accommodation. From the many plans and other documents preserved at the Soane Museum an impression may be obtained of the intricate nature of Sir William Chambers's task and of the size and importance of offices long since obsolete. The Hawkers and Pedlars Office, the Lottery Office, the Hackney Coach Office, the Salt Tax Office, the Pipe Office, and the offices of the Auditor of Imprests and the King's Bargemaster—all are entirely done away or absorbed in larger establishments. Changes have followed one another so rapidly that it has not been practicable, even had it seemed advisable, to give more than a bare outline of their progress. Within the memory of some now living, Somerset House included a considerable residential population, the chief officers of the

PREFACE

executive as well as the porters and caretakers of the various offices being required to live on the premises. But as the small departments gave place to large ones it became expedient to utilise the residential quarters for offices and to connect the separate parts of the building by piercing the divisional walls. In this way much damage has been wrought upon the interior, and the resultant plan is far from convenient.

To avoid the repetition of particulars of a transitory and dry-as-dust nature the activities now centred in Somerset House have been viewed historically and the facts and statistics available in numerous works of reference issued year by year intentionally excluded.

Thanks are due to Mr. Frederick H. Duffield for valuable assistance always readily accorded.

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tyrannical rule, however, Henry remained at heart a reformer, and the changes which were brought about by the aim of Cromwell in the direction of autocracy, were, in effect, the very ends which Colet, Erasmus, and More had sought to achieve by the more gradual methods of education. The Act of Supremacy had at last disposed of the power of the Church. The reins of every department of the State were held in Cromwell's inflexible grip. Such monasteries as had not already yielded up their riches were now quickly suppressed, and the new nobility whom Henry had created to fortify himself against the traditions upheld by the old, were liberally endowed with the spoils.

Among this body of the *nouveaux riches* was Edward Seymour. He had been born, probably at Wulf Hall, about the year 1506, was in 1514 a page of honour at the marriage of Mary Tudor (Henry's sister) with Louis XII. of France, and, joining the army of the Duke of Suffolk, was present at the capture in 1523 of the French towns of Bray, Roye, and Montdidier. At the close of this campaign he received knighthood and soon afterwards appeared at Court as an esquire of the King's household. In 1527 he accompanied Wolsey in an embassy to the King of France ; and in the years following was enriched by the gift of numerous lands in the North and West. On the 12th of September, 1530, he was appointed an esquire of the King's body, and thenceforward appears to have enjoyed the privilege of a close friendship with Henry himself. His sister, Jane Seymour, who had been maid of honour to Catherine of Aragon, was retained in that capacity at the Court of Anne Boleyn ; and there can be little doubt that when Henry's attentions were transferred to Jane, the way was made smooth by her ambitious brother. Be this as it may, the visit of Henry to Wulf Hall in 1535 seems to have decided him to make

Jane Seymour his queen, for within a few months she was installed in the palace at Greenwich in apartments which communicated, through a private passage, with those of the King.

Anne Boleyn was tried and condemned on the 15th of May, 1536 ; she was beheaded on the 19th ; and on the 30th, Henry quietly married his new love. A week later Edward Seymour became Viscount Beauchamp of Hache, in Somerset, and received a grant of extensive manors in Wiltshire. On October 15th of the same year he carried the Princess Elizabeth (afterwards Queen) at the christening of the boy Edward who had been born of his sister's union with the King ; and three days afterwards was created Earl of Hertford.

The death of Queen Jane on October 24th was naturally a blow to Hertford's influence. In the year following he is described as a man "young and wise but of small power." Nevertheless he retained the King's friendship, and in 1539 was entrusted with the defence and fortification of Calais and Guisnes. On his return to England after the successful completion of this task, Henry bestowed upon him "*Chester Place outside Temple Bar, London,*" as a residence, and thus determined the site of the future Somerset House.

Hertford was now despatched to meet Anne of Cleves, the lady by whose marriage with the King, Cromwell designed to achieve a policy which might have averted the Thirty Years' War. On reaching London again he wrote to Cromwell that, since the birth of Prince Edward, nothing had pleased him so much as this new marriage of the King. But on the subject of Anne of Cleves, Cromwell appeared in open defiance of Henry's desires ; Anne was distasteful to him, and the outburst of his wrath left Cromwell an easy victim to his innumerable enemies.

According to the Spanish Chronicle, Cromwell was

sacrificed at the instigation of Hertford, who now took place in the front rank of the King's advisers. The Duke of Norfolk, his most powerful rival, was led to seek his friendship through a marriage between his daughter, the Duchess of Richmond, and Hertford's brother, Thomas Seymour. But the step did not permanently influence their relations. In 1541, Hertford was appointed a Knight of the Garter, and during Henry's progress in the North had the chief management of affairs in London. Late in the same year he was associated with Archbishop Cranmer in the trial and condemnation of Catherine Howard, niece of the Duke of Norfolk, and Henry's fifth wife.

In March, 1544, he was dispatched to proclaim Henry guardian of the infant Queen of Scots and protector of the realm, in defiance both of the temper of the Scottish people and of their alliance with France. On the 3rd of May he landed at Leith with an army of ten thousand men. The keys of the capital were at once proffered on condition that all citizens who so desired might be allowed to leave with their effects; but the Earl demanded an unconditional surrender, announcing that he had been sent to punish the Scots "for their detestable falsehood, and to declare and show the force of his Highness's sword to all such as would resist him." The inhabitants became defiant; and on the following day the Canongate was blown down and the city pillaged. Hertford returned to Berwick laden with spoil, having succeeded only in exasperating the Scots and strengthening their alliance with the French. Indeed he had scarcely returned to London, when his attention was diverted to Boulogne, where a French army, under Marshal de Biez, had laid siege to the English fortifications. Though the force at Hertford's disposal was less than half the number in the opposing ranks, he sallied out before dawn on the 6th of February, 1545, at the head of

four thousand men, and took the enemy by surprise. A panic seized them, and they fled in disorder, the whole of their stores, ammunition, and artillery falling into the hands of the English.

This exploit secured Boulogne for a time, and Hertford was now occupied in revenging the defeat which the Scottish army had inflicted on the English at Ancrum Muir ; but his operations were confined to a border foray, and before the close of 1545 he was back in London in attendance at the Council. In April, 1546, he was again commissioned Lieutenant-General of the army in France, and empowered to make overtures of peace. A treaty was concluded on the 7th of June, and in October Hertford returned to England, and remained in attendance at Court and Council till Henry's death.

The few months which intervened before that event witnessed a momentous struggle for power between the opposing parties in the State. Norfolk, the representative of the older nobility, came at last face to face with Hertford, round whom the men of the "new blood" naturally gathered. As uncle of the young Prince Edward, Hertford could not fail to play a leading part in the coming reign, and in that confidence the Russells, the Cavendishes, the Wriothesleys, and the Fitzwilliams were eager to support him. Unlike the Howards, who boasted their Plantagenet descent, this group of the new nobility had no historical hold upon the country ; they owed their distinction mainly to the royal caprice and their wealth to the spoliation of the monasteries ; they were pledged to the Reformation, and whatever motives underlay their actions the effect of their policy was to bring the English Church into line with the reformed Churches of the Continent. Norfolk, though sympathising with the purification of ecclesiastical institutions, leaned towards Rome, and it was abundantly clear that the party

which became paramount at this critical time would thenceforth possess an enormous advantage. The rival factions met with bitter words. "If God should call the King to His mercy," exclaimed Surrey, Norfolk's son, "who were so meet to govern the Prince as my lord, my father?" "Rather than that should be," came the retort of one of Hertford's adherents, "I would abide the adventure to thrust a dagger in you."

But the issue was more simply decided by Henry himself. True to the work he had begun, he resisted the pretensions of the Papacy in an offer to unite in a "League Christian" with the Lutheran Princes of North Germany, and consented to Cranmer's proposal to change the Mass into a Communion Service. Surrey's boast of his royal blood, the Duke's quartering of the royal arms to distinguish his Plantagenet descent, and certain covert interviews with the French Ambassador, were cleverly used by the enemies of the Howards to rouse Henry's fears of the danger which might beset the throne of his son. Norfolk was attainted of treason, and flung into the Tower, while Surrey was tried and sent to the block. Hertford was hardly aware of his success before Henry's death at Westminster on the 28th of January, 1547, left him pre-eminent.

He was present to receive the King's last commands, and at once took possession of the will. Quickly resolving to set aside its provisions as regards the Council of Regency appointed to rule during Edward's minority, he boldly essayed a *coup d'état*. He forbade the news of Henry's death to be published, and hurried down to Hatfield to secure the person of the young King. This done, the tidings went abroad, and on Monday, the 31st of January, he arrived with Edward at the Tower of London. At the conference then held he was proposed as Protector, and though the Council was divided, a daring

amendment of Henry's will excluding Bishop Gardiner from its debates, enabled the proposal to be carried, and Hertford assumed "the name and title of Protector of all the realms and domains of the King's Majesty and governor of his most royal person." But there was this provision, that the Protector must act only "with the advice and consent of the rest of the executors." On February 2nd Hertford took office as High Steward of England for Edward's coronation ; on the 10th he became Treasurer of the Exchequer and Earl Marshal. Five days later he was created Baron Seymour of Hache, and, on the 16th, Duke of Somerset. A new patent drawn out in the boy-King's name, empowering his uncle to act without consent of his fellow-executors, and "to do anything which a governor of the King's person or Protector of the realm ought to do," was issued on the 12th of March, and Somerset became supreme in the kingdom. A form of prayer used in churches spoke of him as "caused by Providence to rule," and in addressing the King of France he boldly called him "brother."

Thus by intrigue and self-assertion a country gentleman, raised to high rank at Court by the accident of his sister's queenship, had made himself the first Protestant ruler of England. But daring as he had been, Somerset was compelled to fortify his position by measures which marked the retreat of the Crown from the absolutism of Henry. The statute which had given to royal proclamations the force of law was now repealed, and several of the new felonies and treasons which Cromwell had created and used so mercilessly, were struck out.

These measures were undoubtedly popular ; but against the attacks of the conservative party, which the rise of Somerset had temporarily overthrown, it was necessary to secure the support of Protestantism. The Protector himself was a pronounced Calvinist, in frequent communication

with the Genevan reformer. And there is no other account to be given of the gradual changes which culminated in the second Prayer Book of 1552, than that in religious affairs he exercised the same arbitrary sway as the late King had brought to bear upon Parliament when the Act of Six Articles was passed in 1539. He quietly encouraged the publication of books of extreme Protestant views, and himself penned a preface for the new Communion Office of 1548, hinting plainly at reforms which were soon to follow. By an order of the 6th of February, 1547, all bishops were compelled to exercise their offices *durante beneplacito*, and their position as mere State officials was further emphasised by an order for their appointment only under letters patent. An ecclesiastical visitation followed for the removal of pictures and images, the assertion of royal supremacy, and the enforcement of the use of the English tongue in all Church services. A book of homilies was issued, and a formal statute gave priests the right to marry. A resolution of Convocation, confirmed by Parliament, ordered that the sacrament of Holy Communion should be administered in both kinds. According to a contemporary writer, "the Archbishop of Canterbury did this year eat meat openly in Lent in the hall of Lambeth, the like of which was never seen since England was a Christian country." The Book of Common Prayer replaced the Missal and Breviary, and the last hold of Rome upon the English Church seemed to have been finally shaken off. So much does the Reformation owe to the Duke of Somerset.

While these reforms were successfully inaugurated at home, the Protector dreamed of a still wider triumph for the Protestant cause abroad. It was given out that on his death-bed Henry had impressed upon the Council the need of a closer union with Scotland through the marriage of its queen with the young Prince Edward; and Somerset,

against the counsel of his colleagues, now revived Edward I.'s claim to feudal suzerainty over Scotland, and prepared to secure his end by a renewal of the Border warfare. This aroused the jealousy of France, and a fleet appeared off the Scottish coast. Somerset accepted the challenge, and taking to the field in person, marched upon Edinburgh in command of 18,000 men. He found the Scots encamped behind the Esk at a spot known as Pinkie Cleugh, on the slopes of Musselburgh six miles east of the capital, and after a severe engagement drove them headlong in defeat. Ten thousand Scots are said to have fallen in the rout.

Although victorious, Somerset was compelled by famine to fall back from the wasted country ; and the Scots in despair turned as of old to France, securing protection against England by a consent to Mary Stuart's marriage with the Dauphin. Thus not only was the Tudor policy of union with Scotland effectually baulked, but Scotland had fallen under the direct influence of France, and now in the North as well as in the South, England could be made to feel the pressure of the French king. Nevertheless, on his return from the campaign Somerset was received with fresh marks of honour. He declined to enter London in triumph, but accepted a special seat in the House of Lords above the other peers, and the designation "Edward, by the grace of God, Duke of Somerset, etc."

But his policy had not been altogether successful at home. Though the religious changes he was forcing on the land were carried through with the determination if not with the vigour of Cromwell, though he was enabled by confiscating the revenues of the few remaining chantries and religious guilds to buy the assent of noble and landowner, he could not buy off the general aversion of the country people. These rejected the new law and called for the maintenance

of the system of Henry VIII. During 1549 the men of Devonshire, in open revolt, demanded the restoration of the Mass and the Six Articles, as well as a partial re-establishment of the suppressed abbeys. Enclosures and evictions were carried out in all quarters by the nobles, and the Church lands, which had hitherto been underlet, were now raised to their full value by the rapacity of their lay owners. The general distress was deepened by a persistent debasing of the coinage, which Somerset was unable to check. Twenty thousand men under the leadership of Robert Kett gathered round an "Oak of Reformation" at Norwich, and, repulsing the Royal troops, raised a cry for the removal of evil counsellors, a restitution of enclosures, and redress for the grievances of the poor. By the energy of the Earl of Warwick, this revolt was speedily reduced in bloodshed, and a similar rising in the Western counties was put down by Lord Russell; but not before a fatal blow had been struck against Somerset's power.

Already this power had been weakened by strife within his own family. His brother Thomas, created Lord Seymour, raised to the post of Lord High Admiral, and glutted with lands and honours, had yet such greed of power as to envy the Protector. He secretly married Queen Catherine Parr, hoping to attain a greater influence, and on her death attempted a union with the Princess Elizabeth. Whilst the Protector was absent in Scotland he openly decried the administration and utilised every opportunity to draw the King's affection to himself. At first Somerset endeavoured to dissuade him from his reckless courses, but urged to extremes by the Earl of Warwick, he rejected this counsel with contumely, and the Protector, finding his own position seriously imperilled, committed his brother to the Tower. According to the Privy Council register, he "desired for natural pity's sake licence at the passing of the

bill of attainder to be away," and only gave his assent to the measure with great reluctance. Lord Seymour paid the penalty of his rashness, but his execution brought upon Somerset the odium of the populace.

His success in dealing with the rebellion in Norfolk encouraged Warwick also to begin an intrigue against the Protector. He found a ready accomplice in Wriothesley (Earl of Southampton), whom Somerset had ejected from the Chancellorship. At the same time the eagerness with which Somerset enriched himself out of the spoils of ecclesiastical institutions counted heavily against him, and the Council became incensed by his arbitrary acts in making a stamp of the King's signature and instituting a court of requests in his own house at the Strand. The continued failure of his policy both at home and abroad gave Warwick the opportunity he needed. In September, 1549, he appeared with two hundred captains who had served in suppressing the rebellions and demanded extra pay for their services. They were met by a direct refusal. Secret meetings were now held at the houses of the disaffected councillors, and Somerset, hearing of them, issued a leaflet inciting the people to rise in his defence and that of their king. It took the form of an anonymous address, explaining the base motives of his enemies and exhorting the people to move in his favour. "We the poore comens," it concluded, "being injuried by the extorciouse gentylmen, had our pardon this yere by the goodnesse of the Lorde Protector, for whom let us fyght, for he lovith all just and true gentylmen which do no extorcion and also us the poore commynaltie of Englande." The fact that 10,000 men responded to this call is sufficient to show that, in despite of everything alleged against him, and notwithstanding the insurrection in opposition to his rule, Somerset still held the affection of a considerable proportion of the people of London. But though he had rallied his supporters,

his cause was beyond hope. The coils of his enemies were tightening around him, and when, on the 6th of October, he despatched Sir William Petre from Hampton Court to London to inquire the meaning of the Council's proceedings, Warwick's adherents were discovered in session at Ely House, where they had drawn up an indictment of the Protector's rule. To this indictment the City gave its assent, and various nobles with their adherents were summoned to London by order of the Council. The Tower was secured and 15,000 men gathered to support Warwick's action. Indeed, for the moment, the very people on whom Somerset might once have relied seemed banded against him. On the 12th of October he was arrested at Windsor, whither he had moved with the King, and two days later he was committed to the Tower.

In January, 1550, an account of the proceedings taken against him was laid before Parliament, the various charges being set forth in twenty-nine articles. He at once made a full confession and threw himself on the mercy of the Council. The sentence which followed deposed him from the Protectorate, relieved him of all his offices, and deprived him of lands to the value of £2,000. He was, however, released from the Tower, and granted a full pardon on the 18th of February.

Notwithstanding the anxiety of his position, the months of his confinement had not been passed in idleness. He found solace in the perusal of devotional books, such as *Spyrytuall and most Precyouse Pearle*, a German work, which he read in the manuscript translation of Miles Coverdale. For this book, indeed, he wrote the English preface, and he is supposed also to have translated and published a letter he received from Calvin; but of this no copy can now be traced.

Within three months of his release he had recovered much of his former eminence. His lands were restored, he

took precedence of all other members of the Council, and on the 3rd of June, as if to show the completeness of the reconciliation, his daughter Anne was married to Viscount Lisle, Lord Warwick's eldest son. The reunion, however, was only momentary, for although Somerset's influence continued to revive, and a strong party favoured the proposal to elevate him again to the Protectorate, the power and ambition of his rival Warwick effectually held him in check. Popular feeling ran high in his favour, and he even seems to have meditated a fresh *coup d'état* in the seizure of Warwick, Northampton, and Pembroke, who for their part were resolved on his destruction. In September, 1551, he was prevented by sickness from attending the Council, and it is probable that this period of his inactivity enabled his enemies to mature their plans. On the 4th of October he appeared once more at the Council, and on the same day Warwick became Duke of Northumberland. About this time Sir Thomas Palmer disclosed a plot which he alleged had been formed in April by Somerset, Arundel, Paget, and himself with the object of raising the country and murdering Warwick. An inquiry was at once instituted, ostensibly with the object of determining Somerset's indebtedness to the King, but its real purpose became apparent when he was suddenly arrested and conveyed to the Tower. Some days later the Council communicated to the City of London the baseless story that he had plotted to destroy the City and to seize the Tower and the Isle of Wight. He was also accused of endeavouring to secure for himself and his heirs the succession to the Crown. Several weeks elapsed while the evidence was being prepared against him. There can be little doubt he had meditated supplanting Northumberland, but no evidence exists to show that the plot would have involved that nobleman's death. And apart from the improbabilities of Palmer's story, we have the direct avowal of Renard that both Northumberland and Palmer confessed

before death that the case against Somerset had been fabricated.¹

On Tuesday, the 1st of December, 1551, at 5 a.m., with a great number of "bills, halberds, and pole axes attending him," Somerset was conveyed by water from the Tower to Westminster Hall, there to be tried by his Peers. The first charge—one of treason—broke down, but a second charge of felony was forthwith preferred, and he was condemned to be executed. The populace, "supposing he had been clearly quitt, when they see the axe of the Tower put down made such a shryke and castinge up of caps that it was heard into the Long Acre beyonde Charinge Crosse," and on his journey back to the Tower they "cried 'God save him' all the way as he went."²

But Somerset's popularity among the people of London could not save him. Warwick and his confederates knew too well the danger to their own cause of granting him a second respite. Accordingly, on the 22nd of January, 1552, between 8 and 9 a.m., the last penalty was exacted. To prevent a tumult, orders had been given that all people should remain indoors till 10 a.m. But "by seven o'clock Tower Hill was covered with a great multitude repairing from all parts of the citie as well as out of the suburbs." Standing under guard before the block, Somerset spoke quietly to the crowd around him a word of farewell. "Masters and good fellows," he said, "I am come hither for to die."³ He rejoiced in the work he had been able to do in the cause of religion, and urged all men to follow the same cause. While he was yet speaking Sir Anthony Browne pressed through the crowd on horseback. A cry of "Pardon!" was raised; but Somerset, with cap in hand,

¹ Froude, v. 36 n.

² Wriothesley, ii. 63.

³ Sir H. Ellis, *Original Letters*, series ii.

waved the people to come together, saying, “There is no such thing, good people, there is no such thing ; it is the ordinance of God thus for to die, wherewith we must be content ; and I pray you now let us pray together for the King’s majesty, to whose Grace I have always been a faithful, true, and most loving subject.” Then he laid his head upon the block, and when the axe had done its work those nearest the scaffold pressed forward to dip their handkerchiefs in his blood. His remains were buried in St. Peter’s Chapel in the Tower, side by side with those of Anne Boleyn and Catherine Howard, and in the same grave with those of his turbulent brother, Lord Seymour of Sudeley.

Much obloquy has gathered upon the name of Protector Somerset. Numerous writers since his day have failed to see that his faults were largely the faults of the age in which he lived. They tell us he was rapacious ; but if we reflect that when the Church disgorged her accumulated wealth one and all of the more powerful laymen scrambled to become rich upon the spoils, the fault in Somerset is not unpardonable. Sir John Fenn observes in a letter to Mr. Granger, “I have been lately looking into all such of our histories of England and lives of great men as I could procure, to see what character upon the whole view of them might fairly be affixed to Protector Somerset. The result is I do not think they have done him justice. Most, indeed, allow him many good qualities ; but there comes a counter-balance of various charges, of extravagance and maladministration, warranted indeed by the accusations of his enemies ; but, I believe, little deserved by the duke.” Placed as he was in a position of supreme power, the wonder is not that Somerset laid hold of so much, but that he appropriated so little. Reared in the school of Protestantism, taught by the very force of habit to abolish the emblems of ritualism and Rome, it is not unlikely that his vandalism in destroying

ecclesiastical edifices to find stone for his own palace was deliberate and conscientious, and not, as is more often held, wanton and sacrilegious.

He occupies an important place in English history. He is the first of our Protestant rulers ; he did more than any other man to give practical effect to the religious and political revolution his age had inaugurated. The strength of his convictions and the purity of his life fitted him admirably in the *rôle* of reformer. It is largely to his influence that we owe the splendid bequest of the English Prayer Book, and but for the firm stand he made against the Catholic reaction which overtook the Continental nations, Protestantism might not have flourished as it did. Under his rule England became the common refuge of persecuted reformers, and Lutheranism, which was being rigorously suppressed in its own home, became triumphant here. Fugitives from every country—Germans, Italians, French, Poles, and Swiss—flocked into England ; and when the persecution made itself felt in the Low Countries, Walloons were welcomed at London and Canterbury, and allowed to set up their churches. In his conception of a union between England and Scotland, in his constant solicitude for the poorer classes of the community, and in his endeavour to mitigate the harshness of Cromwell's laws, Somerset has demonstrated for himself a sincere and exalted purpose. His removal of the restrictions which weighed upon the Press, and his unwillingness to persecute for doctrinal heresies, anticipated the age by more than a century. But he was too little of an opportunist to be successful as a ruler, and failed in the complete achievement of his objects mainly through a want of patience, a hatred of compromise, and a consistent undervaluing of the forces opposed to him. Unquestionably he was ambitious. His usurpation of the royal prerogative proved him capable of a resolute audacity. But in all that he did he was inno-

cent of ignoble motives, and aimed at ends he judged to be beneficent. The charm of his personality secured him the affection of many whose schemes he opposed ; political jealousies were forgotten in his genial companionship ; and although by his death Northumberland gained a momentary triumph, the loss to England was great and irreparable.



CHAPTER I

THE FOUNDATION

AT the beginning of his Protectorate the Duke of Somerset occupied Chester Place outside Temple Bar—a modest establishment bestowed upon him in 1539 for services rendered in connection with the fortification of Calais and Guisnes.¹ Doubtless this residence had hitherto proved adequate to his simple needs, but to accommodate the larger household which the dignity of his new position demanded was beyond its capacity, and in appointments suitable for the ceremonial of a Court it must have been hopelessly deficient. One point alone was in its favour. It occupied an unrivalled position on the road between Westminster and the City, and in choosing a site for the new palace he determined to build, Somerset can have had little hesitation in selecting the immediate vicinity of Chester Place.

The Strand had lately been paved under an Act of Parliament,² and was now a safe and convenient thoroughfare, giving access to several palaces besides Somerset's. "It is not an ill compliment to the nobility of those times that so many of them had their houses by Thames

¹ 31 Hen. VIII. cap. 18 granted to the Earl of Hertford "all that capital messuage commonly called Chester Place lying and being in the parish of our blessed Lady of Strand without the bars of the Temple in London in the county of Middlesex with gardens, orchard, court and other buildings to the said messuage appertaining and belonging," evidently a considerable property.

² 24 Hen. VIII. cap. 11.

side from the Temple to Whitehall.”¹ Indeed, the Strand became a street of palaces, those of York, Durham, Exeter, Savoy, and Arundel being notably magnificent. Each had a special landing-place upon the Thames, which provided all classes of society with a highway for excursions of business and pleasure. Traffic between the Court and the City was carried on by means of wherries from Whitehall to Blackfriars or London Bridge. The King passed up or down stream in a State barge, attended by the barges of his nobles; and daily the river presented a gay scene. In relation to the London of those days the Strand was the Mayfair or Belgravia, the residential quarter of the nobility; and even so late as the beginning of last century the ruined palace of Savoy still stood peacefully by the Thames, suggesting much more the picturesque decay now exhibited in the crumbling piles of rural monasteries than the decrepit splendours of a royal palace in the heart of a great city.

Some uncertainty exists as to the year in which the work of erecting the Lord Protector’s palace was begun. But even if the building had not been in contemplation prior to Henry VIII.’s death in January, 1547, necessity must have compelled a definite move in the matter very soon afterwards. Somerset’s patent as Lord Protector was granted on the 12th of March, 1547, and in the following July his stipend was fixed at 8,000 marks (about £25,000 in the currency of to-day). This income, added to the wealth he already possessed through the bounty of Henry VIII., must have enabled him to lavish a large sum upon any project which occupied his mind; and there can be little doubt that the construction of a new palace was decided upon and undertaken immediately. The grandeur of Hampton Court, which Cardinal Wolsey designed for himself until the threatening disfavour of Henry drove

¹ Strype, *Stow’s Survey*, edition 1755.

him, in 1526, to relinquish it as a peace-offering, was doubtless in the Protector's mind as a thing to be surpassed ; for even Wolsey had never attained to the singular glory which fell upon Somerset at Henry's death. It is not surprising, therefore, that the edifice which he planned should have excited so much interest among his contemporaries, or that when fallen from power his foes should have fixed upon him the charge of "his ambition and seeking of his own glory as appeared by his building of most sumptuous and costly buildings, and specially in the time of the King's wars, and the King's soldiers unpaid."

To make room for this new palace the Protector demolished the buildings immediately surrounding his residence at the Strand. These are particularised in Stow's *Survey of London and Westminster*.¹ After describing Arundel House, formerly Bath's Inn, or Seymour Place, which stood on the ground now occupied by Surrey, Norfolk, and Arundel Streets, and was at one time the residence of Thomas Seymour, the Lord Protector's brother, Stow proceeds :—

" Next beyond the which, on the street-side, was sometime a fair Cemetery, or Churchyard, and in the same a parish Church called of the Nativity of our Lady and the Innocents at the Strand ; and of some (by means of a Brotherhood kept there) called of St. Ursula at the Strand. In former times it was an highway leading from London to Westminster, and so was called in a Deed. Roger, called the Amner, gave and confirmed to Roger de Mulent, or de Molend, who

¹ John Stow was born in 1525, and would therefore be of full age at the time of the demolitions. He spent a great part of his long life in compiling his account of London, and the facts which he brought to light and marshalled in his monumental work have been supplemented but little by subsequent investigators. The first edition of his *Survey* was issued in 1598, and the account it gives of the site of Somerset House must be considered in the highest degree authentic.

was also called Longespe, Bishop of Chester, in the year 1257, a parcel of Land and buildings, lying in the parish of St. Mary-le-Strand, without London towards Westminster, and the same to hold to the said Roger and his successors by the yearly rent of three shillings at Easter, for the purchase of which the said Bishop gave twenty marks of silver. On this land we presume Chester Inn was built, situate by St. Mary-le-Strand. For near adjoining to the said Church, betwixt it and the river Thames, was an Inn of Chancery, commonly called Chester's Inn, because it belonged to the Bishop of Chester. By others named of the situation Strand Inn. Then was there an house belonging to the Bishop of Llandaff; for I find in record, the fourth of Edward the Second (1310), that a vacant place lying near the Church of our Lady at Strand the said Bishop procured of Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, for the enlarging of this house.

“Then was the Bishop of Chester (commonly called of Lichfield and Coventry), his Inn, or London lodging. This house was first builded by Walter Langton, Bishop of Chester, Treasurer of England in the reign of Edward the First. And next adjoining to it was the Bishop of Worcester's Inn. All which, to wit, the Parish of St. Mary at Strand, Strand Inn, Strand Bridge with the lane under it, the Bishop of Chester's Inn, the Bishop of Worcester's Inn, with all the Tenements adjoining, were by commandment of Edward, Duke of Somerset, uncle paternal to Edward the Sixth, and Lord Protector, pulled down and made level ground in the year 1549. In place whereof he builded that large and goodly house, now called Somerset House.”

The house of the Bishop of Llandaff, here omitted from the summary of the demolished property, is included in that given by Stow in his *Annales*, so that the complete account of the buildings which occupied





THE STRAND IN 1513.
From the drawing by A. van der Wyngaerde, by permission of Messrs. Sedley & Co.

the site made ready by the Protector may be set down as follows :—

- (i.) The Church of St. Mary le Strand ;
- (ii.) the episcopal house of the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, known as Chester's Inn ;
- (iii.) the episcopal house of the Bishop of Worcester ;
- (iv.) the episcopal house of the Bishop of Llandaff ;
- (v.) an inn of Chancery, indifferently named Strand Inn and Chester Inn ;
- (vi.) Strand bridge ;
- (vii.) a number of tenements.

Exactly in what manner these buildings were distributed over the site it is now impossible to make sure. The earliest graphic representation of London, that of Antonie van den Wyngaerde¹ preserved in the Bodleian Library, has been assigned to the year 1543. It consists of a panoramic view of the districts lying to the north of the Thames between Westminster and the Tower, and depicts with charm and evident fidelity the London of Henry the Eighth. Examining the neighbourhood of the Strand we at once discover Durham House and Savoy Palace on the one hand, and Bath's Inn (or Arundel House), St. Clement Danes' Church, and the Temple on the other, and notice on the ground since appropriated for the site of Somerset

¹ Little is known of this artist, although no fewer than forty-eight of his drawings are preserved in the Bodleian Library. He was a native of Flanders, whence it is supposed, from the existence of a rescript of Philip II. granting him permission to remove into Spain, that he may have entered that monarch's service and been dispatched to London when the project of Philip's marriage with Mary Tudor was first conceived. The drawing of London (a small part of which is here reproduced) is unfinished as regards Whitehall, Bridewell, and a few other buildings ; and the memoranda jotted here and there on the roofs of churches and other large spaces suggest that it was intended to colour it. A copy of this drawing, much altered and otherwise spoiled, was made and engraved by N. Whittock in 1849.

House what is probably the Church of our Lady and the Innocents at the Strand pulled down by the Protector. The church appears to occupy the central part of the site midway between the roadway and the river, and to be surrounded, particularly on the south, by other edifices possessing architectural dignity. A part at least of the building next the water must have constituted the Inn of Chancery called indifferently Chester Inn or Strand Inn ; for according to Stow this Inn was "near adjoining to the church, betwixt it and the river Thames." "The Bishop of Chester, his Inn or London lodging," a distinct edifice, stood in the high street, and Worcester Inn was "close adjoining to it."

In recent years the authenticity of Wyngaerde's picture has been challenged by the appearance of another¹ based upon a comparison of the accurate survey of John Rocque (1746) with the earlier maps of Ogilvy (17th century), Hofnagle (1572), and Agas (*circa* 1560) ; but this picture exhibits a complete disregard of accurate detail and very little of the graphic beauty which so distinguishes the older drawing. Moreover, it is not difficult to reconcile the latter with Stow's written description, at least so far as concerns the locality of the Strand ; and the independent but corroborative testimony of men so well trained to record what they saw as Stow and Wyngaerde, cannot now be called in question.

Comparing the site as it appeared in Henry VIII.'s time with that covered by the modern building, only one point can be fixed with any certainty. Traces of the vaults of old St. Mary le Strand Church have been discovered beneath

¹ See William Newton's *London of the Olden Time* (1855). Newton's statement that the vaults of the old church of our Lady and the Innocents were still used in his day for purposes of interment can only have reference to the vaults beneath the modern church of St. Mary le Strand. Certainly no interment has taken place in the older vaults since the erection of the present Somerset House in 1776-90.

the north-east corner of the present quadrangle, and in modern ordnance maps the site of the church is shown in that position. In the sixteenth century the church was better known as that of our Lady and the Innocents at the Strand, or of St. Ursula at the Strand ; but long prior to that period, viz., in 1376, one William Wynningham held the title, *Rector Ecclesiæ Sanctæ Mariæ le Strand*; and in 1147 the rector was none other than Thomas Becket, afterwards St. Thomas of Canterbury. When the Protector ordered the destruction of the old church he undertook to erect a new one in its stead, and granted the parishioners temporary use of a chapel in the Savoy Palace. But untimely death deceived the expectation they reposed in Somerset, and it was not until the completion of the present church of St. Mary le Strand in 1723 that the temporary use of the chapel in the Savoy was discontinued.

The Inn or London lodging of the Bishop of Chester in Stow's time evidently stood near the present gateway leading to King's College ; for he tells us that "in the High Street near unto the Strand sometime stood a cross of stone against the Bishop of Coventry or Chester his house, whereof I read that in the year 1294 and divers other times the Justices Itinerant sate without London at the stone cross over against the Bishop of Coventry's house, and sometime they sate in the Bishop's house which was hard by the Strand." Worcester's Inn was near by, probably on the south towards the church.

Llandaff's Inn appears to have stood to the west of the church on a site contiguous to that of the Savoy Palace. "In Edward the Second's reign, Thomas Earl of Lancaster granted to the Bishop of Llandaff a place of ground near the church of St. Mary atte Strond containing four score feet in length and eight in breadth *pro manso suo ibidem clangand*, i.e., for the enlarging of his mansion house there."

The "Inn of Chancery, commonly called Chester's Inn

because it belonged to the Bishop of Chester, by others named of the situation Strand Inn," was attached to the Middle Temple. In the reign of Henry V., Hoccleve, the poet, was enrolled there as a student of the Law; and, according to Spelman,¹ this Inn was the largest of the Inns of Chancery.

Of Strand Bridge Stow writes: "Then had ye in the high street a fair bridge called Strand Bridge, and under it a lane which went down to the Strand, so (called) from being a banque of the river Thames." William Maitland is somewhat more precise: "A little to the east of the present Catherine Street and in the High Street was a handsome bridge denominated from its situation Strand Bridge, through which ran a small watercourse from the fields, which, gliding along a lane below, had its influx in the Thames near Somerset Stairs."² The bridge must have been situated some distance farther to the east than Maitland suggests. In an account of one of Elizabeth's progresses we read that she came "through Fleet Street unto her place called Somerset Place *beyond Strand Bridge*," which shows that the bridge carried the road over a watercourse running down to the river cityward of Somerset House, probably at the point now marked by Strand Lane.

Our best view of the vicinity before its devastation in 1547 leaves only a blurred impression, and notwithstanding the diligence of antiquaries the configuration of London in the sixteenth century is unlikely to emerge from the mist which enshrouds it. Even Stow, whose elaborate care left no particle of evidence unconsidered, is not clear in describing the events of his own time: he did not know, precisely, what buildings his great contemporary, Somerset, had pulled down at the Strand. Nevertheless, his *Survey* is the basis and inspiration of a

¹ Sir H. Spelman: *Reliqueæ Spelmannianæ*.

² See *History of London*, 1739.

numerous progeny of descriptive accounts of London, and in the endeavour to picture the locality which was made level ground by the Lord Protector we necessarily turn to him as the most authentic witness.

The site cleared for the reception of the Lord Protector's palace coincided very closely with that occupied by the Somerset House of to-day. It had a depth from north to south of about 500 feet, and a frontage to the river of about 600 feet. In later times it was bounded on the east by Strand Bridge Lane (now Strand Lane), and on the west by Duchy Lane, which disappeared at the building of Waterloo Bridge (1811-1817).

One of the great obstacles besetting the builders of Somerset's day was the difficulty of obtaining suitable material. In such a district as London the common mode of construction was in wood and rubble. Bricks were not largely used, and only the great public buildings and the houses of nobility were of stone, which had either to be brought a long distance oversea or procured by the demolition of other buildings in the neighbourhood of the proposed new edifice. Somerset chose the destructive method. In the account of his attainder we read :—

“ Other clamours were purposely raised against him, particularly that he had caused a church near Strand Bridge and two Bishops' houses to be pulled down to make a seat for his New Building called Somerset House, in digging the foundations whereof the bones of many who had been buried there were dug up and carried into the fields. And because the Stones of that Church and those said Houses were not sufficient for that Work, the Steeple and most part of the Church of St. John of Jerusalem (Clerkenwell) were ruined and overthrown with Gunpowder, and the Stones carried to contribute toward the Building. Likewise the Cloysters on the North Side of St. Paul's Cathedral and the Charnal House on the South Side thereof, with the

Chapel, the Tombs, and the Monuments therein, being all beaten down, and the Bones carried into Finsbury Fields, and that for the same purpose he intended to have pulled down St. Margaret's Church at Westminster."

Touching his intentions towards St. Margaret's Church, Sir John Hayward,¹ who foregoes no opportunity to tarnish the Lord Protector's character, observes : "The workmen began to set up their scaffolds and the destruction was ready to be begun, when the stout-hearted men of Westminster, fearless of the vengeance of the powerful noble, resenting the wrong and abhorring the sacrilege, rose with one spirit, and commenced such a vigorous defence with staff and stones, and at last with clubs and bended bows, that the unhappy carpenters and masons were bewildered and fled, so greatly terrified that no persuasion could induce them to resume the perilous undertaking."

Stow, in his *Annales*, gives additional details : "On the 10th of April, 1549, the cloister of Paul's Church called Pardon Churchyaerde² with the dance of death, commonly

¹ *Life and Reign of Edward VI.* "It was constantly affirmed," says Hayward in another place, "that the Duke intended to pull down the Church of St. Margaret in Westminster and that the standing thereof was only preserved by his fall." Stow, too, hints that in Edward the Sixth's time the church was in danger of being destroyed, but does not point directly at Somerset.

² Pardon Churchyard occupied ground to the north-west of the Cathedral. Originally it may have served for the interment of suicides and convicts as in later times did a similar plot attached to the Priory of St. John of Jerusalem in Clerkenwell. Of the latter, Stow says that it served for the burying of such as desperately ended their lives or were executed for felonies, "the bodies of persons so dying being fetched thither in a close cart veiled over and covered with black, having a plain white cross thwarting, and at the fore-end a St. John's Cross without and within, a bell ringing by the shaking of the cart, whereby the same might be heard when it passed." Within the cloister enclosing Pardon Churchyard, however, were buried persons of note, whose monuments surpassed those of the Cathedral itself in number and curious workmanship. On the walls of this cloister was the famous series of paintings of the Dance of Death, with a metrical description of each design translated by John Lydgate from inscriptions attached to a similar series at Basel in Switzerland.

called the dance of Paules, about the same cloister, costly and cunningly wrought, and the chappel in the middest of the same churchyard were all begun to be pulled downe to provide materials for the building of Somerset House. Also the charnal house of Pauls with the chappells there¹ (after the tombes and other monuments of the dead were pulled downe and the dead men's bones buried in the fields) were converted into dwelling-houses and shops. About the same time the steeple and most part of the church of S. John of Jerusalem, neare unto Smithfield, most beautifully newe builded by the Lord Prior named Docwra was undermined and overthrowne with gunpowder, the stone whereof was applied in the building of the Lord Protector's house at the Strand."²

Outrageous as these measures appear to the mind of the twentieth century, they were nevertheless but lightly regarded in the age of Somerset. The proceedings sanctioned by Henry VIII. had accustomed the populace to acts of vandalism, and every nobleman, whether Papist or Protestant, showed an equal readiness to appropriate the belongings of the Church. The Revival of Learning had, indeed, wrought revolution in many aspects of public life, but the standard of taste and the canon of morality were not readily influenced. The iniquity of the Duke's proceedings is little noticed among contemporary writers, and Stow, who lived in Cornhill at the time and never flinched to record his observations, does not seem to have been touched by it at all. Things which "tooke fire among the Common

¹ These old buildings stood to the south of the Cathedral. Before pulling them down Somerset ordered the remains found in the tombs to be removed to Finsbury Fields. The site of the charnel-house was afterwards covered with dwelling-houses, and warehouses with sheds before them for stationers and shopkeepers.

² *Annales*, ed. 1615. Besides the buildings here enumerated, a chapel at the north door of the Cathedral founded by Walter Sherrington, chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, by license of King Henry VI., was also pulled down and the stone removed to the Strand.

People," the sacrilege of demolishing the cloister of St. Paul's, containing the Dance of Death, left him unmoved, though no man can have been more jealous for the preservation of worthy monuments. In this consideration it must not be overlooked that Somerset's Calvinistic views may have required the destruction of an emblem so frankly Catholic as the Dance of Death, and that the disappearance of the work may have brought satisfaction to many besides himself. Moreover, much of the demolished property (as well as the whole of Covent Garden and Long Acre) actually belonged to Somerset, and there can be little doubt that such of the properties as were not owned by him were already in the hands of the King for secular purposes. An Act passed in the first year of Edward VI.'s reign gave all chapels, chantries, hospitals, fraternities, and guilds not in the actual possession of Henry VIII. to the Crown *pleno jure*. The object of the measure, which was taken in consequence of the general dissolution of monasteries and priories, was the suppression of papal superstitions and the foundation of schools and seminaries of learning in the Protestant persuasion. Thus all buildings of a Catholic character removed by the Duke were probably given to him by the King ; at any rate, they are not registered in King Edward's book of the sales of chantries, &c., printed in Strype's *Ecclesiastical Memorials*. Into this class of buildings would fall more especially all the petty religious establishments in the neighbourhood of St. Paul's, viz., the cloister and chapel in Pardon Churchyard, the chapel at the north door of the Cathedral, and the charnel-house with its chapel ; and it would also include the larger edifice belonging to the Hospital of St. John¹ at Clerkenwell, which,

¹ The steeple or bell-tower of the Priory Church of St. John of Jerusalem is described by Stow, from his own personal recollection, as having been ornamented in an uncommon manner. It was engraved, gilded, and enamelled in 1504 by Thomas Docwra, then prior, and surpassed in beauty any other edifice of its kind in London.

though suppressed by Henry VIII. in 1541, had been preserved against "spoil and downpulling" so long as he remained King. Not only did the Act transfer the properties to the Crown, but also it bestowed a yearly recompence during life upon every priest or other person so deprived of a ready livelihood.

As regards St. Margaret's Church, it must be remembered that this edifice stood within the precincts of Westminster Abbey and was doubtless affected by the Acts of Dissolution. This circumstance would be known to the Duke, who might have claimed a legal justification for the contemplated vandalism. Writers who have affirmed that his plans were directed not only against the church but against the Abbey itself, have strained the limits of credulity in their desire to defame the Protector. Although the revenues of the Abbey were very large, its lands were never impropriated under the Acts, but reserved entirely for pious uses, except so far as they were charged with the payment of certain stipends to professors and students at Oxford and Cambridge. Though actually surrendered in accordance with the law, the Abbey was in effect re-established and granted the dignity of a cathedral with a bishop, a dean, and twelve prebendaries. The first and only bishop, Thirlby, relinquished his see in 1550, and the Abbey was then reunited with the diocese of London, retaining by special Act of Parliament its dignity as a cathedral, with its dean and prebendaries. It is, therefore, in the highest degree improbable that the Protector, with whom personal popularity was of primary consideration, should have projected destructive measures against a fabric which it was clearly the universal desire to preserve. Moreover, his strong Protestant views alone would have deterred him from demolishing a cathedral possessing a full establishment of ecclesiastics merely for the aggrandisement of his own palace. As to the property which was cleared

from the site at the Strand, it is only necessary to observe that where evidence of the Duke's transactions for the acquisition of an edifice is forthcoming, it is found that his way of dealing was by fair and equitable exchange. Nothing remains to show that when recompense was due he did not make it in full measure. On the contrary, for the loss of his house at the Strand the Bishop of Chester was rewarded by the gift of the parsonage of Henbury, in Staffordshire,¹ while the Bishop of Worcester, for the loss of his, received the grant of another in Whitefriars. But this, Spelman asserts, was a mark of the Duke's especial regard for Dr. Hooper, then Bishop of Worcester; though it is at least equally probable that Hooper, unlike his colleagues of Lichfield and Llandaff, was too upright to divest his see of any appurtenance without a visible and specified compensation. The decline in the revenues of the bishopric of Llandaff was too great at this period to be accounted for except by the bishop's own extravagances. Bishop Babington, who was appointed to the see in 1591, jocularly remarked that he was merely the Bishop of Aff, the Land having been taken away. And it cannot be supposed that the Duke, who lost no opportunity to befriend the poor, would so outrage the rights of mankind as to overthrow such buildings as have been named without a legal justification and full recompense either in money or kind.

Undeniably Somerset's cardinal indiscretion was committed in the removal of the human remains found in Pardon Churchyárd, the charnel-house, and other places, to unconsecrated ground. Stow says that the bones from the charnel-house "were conveyed from thence into Finsbury Field, amounting to more than a thousand cartloads, and there laid on moorish ground, which was in a short space afterwards raised by soilage from the City upon them to

¹ MS. in Cottonian Library. Vesp. L. xiv. 2.

bear three windmills.”¹ There can be little doubt that this inconsiderate procedure aroused a good deal of animosity against the Protector, and his enemies may be supposed to have used it to the utmost as an aggravation of his offences. Indeed, the indecent manner in which the dead were removed “did something to alienate the people’s minds from him, which the Earl of Warwick perceiving thought it now a fit time to be falling upon him.”²

Whatever may have been the attitude of those immediately affected by the demolitions, it does not appear to have deterred the Duke in the execution of his designs. While he himself worked ceaselessly in the interests of the State, carrying war to the Scottish capital or planning with Cranmer the triumph of Protestantism, a band of his faithful servants pushed forward the erection of the new palace ; and day by day as he passed to and fro on the business of his office, he would watch the progress of the work, discussing with his architect details of the plans, and looking eagerly for the day when his coach should first rattle upon the pavement of his spacious courtyard.

Concerning Somerset at this time John Knox has observed that he preferred watching the masons to listening to sermons. The Cistercian habit of the Scottish divine doubtless finds something wanton in Somerset’s indifferent regard for the pulpit, but the more human among us will surely acquit him of the crime.

Many attempts have been made to fix the identity of the man whom Somerset employed to design and erect his new palace ; but after all the point will remain in dispute. The clerk of the works stands forward clearly in the person of Robert Lawes ; while the architect in whose mind the structure first took shape, and under whose direction it was

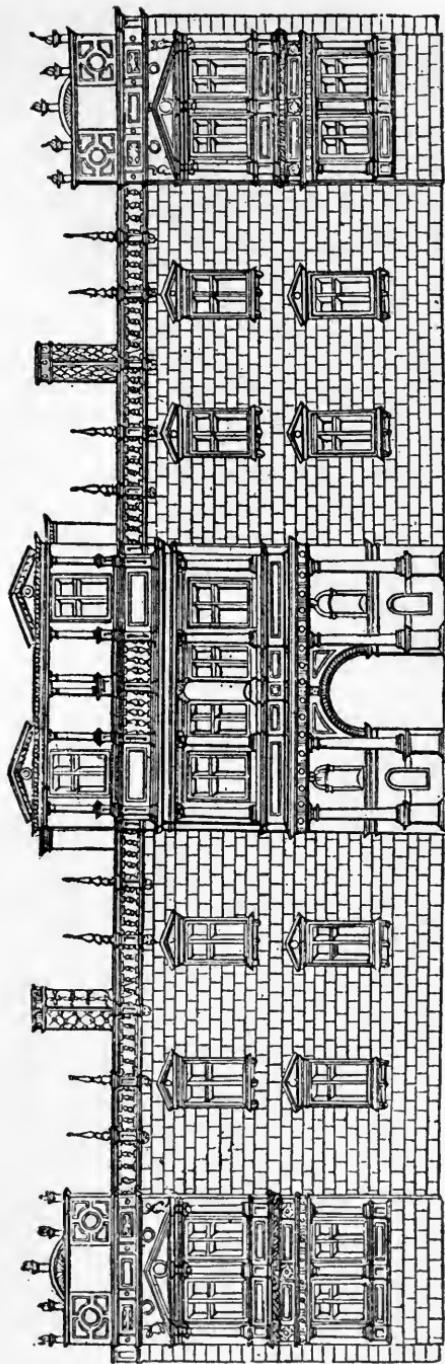
¹ In Agas’s map (*circa* 1560) these windmills are depicted, and Windmill Street, Finsbury, once marked the site.

² Sir Richard Baker’s *Chronicle*, p. 326, fol. 1665.

eventually piled up, flits shadowlike across the scene—is here, is there, is nowhere.

Among the men who lived in touch with Somerset three may be considered in this connection. Conjecture has fallen upon John Thorpe ; but the accepted period of Thorpe's activities (*circa* 1570–1610) is too late to support this theory. The chief evidence of his work is found in a folio of drawings now preserved in the Soane Museum. This folio exhibits the plans of various buildings, sections of stonework, and perspective designs drawn in pencil and finished in ink, all apparently executed upon the pages of the book itself. Though the actual drawings are unquestionably by Thorpe, it is not reasonable to attribute to him the conception of them. Beginning with Henry VII.'s chapel at Westminster in 1502, *including a ground plan and the elevation towards the Strand of Somerset House*, and ending with Aston Hall, near Birmingham, which was not completed before 1618, this remarkable volume cannot represent more than a succession of copies made by Thorpe from buildings or designs already existing. Moreover, it is incredible that an architect working on so vast a scale should have escaped mention in contemporary literature ; and the differences in style alone forbid their attribution to one designer, however versatile, even in a period of transition and foreign influence. Where documents do exist relating to houses popularly accredited to Thorpe, they are found to confirm the supposition in no single instance. Like so many others of his day who did eminent work, Thorpe is an elusive identity. Owing to the presence of certain designs in the Soane folio, he has been confused with another *ignis fatuus* of archæology, John of Padua.

Regarding this latter personage nothing definite can be proved. His name is here and there encountered, but never in association with a particular design. As far as can be discerned, he lived in England during the years 1542–



THE STRAND FRONT.

From the Original Collection of Drawings, by John Thorpe, preserved in the Sozne Museum.

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1549. He was the recipient of two royal grants—one in 1544, and a second in 1549. In the earlier one a wage of 2s. per diem was bestowed upon “our well-beloved servant Johannes de Padua in consideration of the good and faithful service which he has done and intends to do us in architecture and in other inventions in music.”¹ He is also referred to as “Devizer of his Majesty’s buildings.” No documentary evidence, however, connects him with any specific work either in architecture or music, though from the terms of the grants it is clear that both Henry VIII. and Edward VI. benefited by his skill in architecture, and it is of course possible that the royal grant of 1549 was bestowed at the instance of Somerset, who may have taken the Italian into his patronage for the express purpose of procuring a good design for his palace. But of all this nothing definite is ascertainable; though a suggestion may be found in the charge alleged against Somerset at his trial, that while the King was engaged in costly wars and London much disordered by the Plague, he had brought architects *from Italy* and designed such a palace as had not been seen in England.² Efforts have been made to identify John of Padua with John Thorpe, Sir John Thynne, and even Dr. John Caius (founder of Gonville and Caius College), but so far unsuccessfully. It is to be observed, however, that, although Dr. John Caius is reputed to be the architect of Caius College, a manuscript in the Gough collection states that there was in the Combination Room at the College “a portrait of John of Padua who built the College and Somerset House on the old front of which next the Strand were some Doric columns like those at Caius College.”³

¹ Walpole’s *Anecdotes of Painting* and Rymer’s *Fœdera*.

² See *The Lives, Trials, and Executions of the Royal and Noble Personages who suffered for High Treason and other Crimes*, by Delahay Gordon, vol. i. p. 341.

³ Letter from Smart Lethuillier to Dr. Ducarel.

Sir John Thynne in his youth lived at the Court of Henry VIII., and “*being an ingenious man and a travalier,*” was taken into the house of the Duke of Somerset (then Earl of Hertford), whose steward he afterwards became. He was with Hertford’s Scottish expedition in 1544, and again at Pinkie Cleugh (September 10, 1547), in which engagement he was wounded. Somerset knighted him on the battlefield. After this campaign, while Somerset was absorbed in public affairs Sir John Thynne managed all matters relating to his private household, and during 1548 and 1549 (according to papers preserved at Longleat) carried on negotiations for the building of a new mansion for the Protector at Bedwyn Brail End, in Wiltshire.¹ Thynne’s conduct in his capacity of steward provoked Paget (one of the Council) to write concerning him that “there is nothing his grace requires so much to take heed of as that man’s proceedings,” which we accept in a complimentary sense as having reference to Thynne’s great care and assiduity in his master’s business. The chief reason for counting Thynne a possible architect of Somerset House is that, apart from his close interest in the Duke’s affairs, he is known to have been a capable designer. Indeed, his own mansion, Longleat, in Wiltshire, built during the years 1567–1579, and one of the first examples of the Elizabethan style in domestic architecture, is more probably designed by Thynne himself than by John Thorpe or John of Padua, to whom it has occasionally been credited. And with such an opportunity for the exercise of his talent as was presented in the project of Somerset House, it is not improbable that he may have undertaken the design. In any case his supervision of the building operations must have been of the closest.

In discussing the relationships of these men we have not exhausted the list of those who claim our consideration.

¹ *Wilts Archaeological Magazine*, vol. xv.: “The Seymours of Wulf Hall,” by Canon J. E. Jackson.

Jerome da Treviso, Sir Richard Lea (King Henry's Master Mason), Hector Ashley, and Hans Holbein have all been mentioned at one time or another in connection with the design of the Protector's palace. But as the evidence adduced has never justified more than a conceivable possibility of their authorship, it is not here recounted. Tradition has consistently favoured John of Padua, whose fame has long outlasted the certain record of his works. It is, however, doubtful whether his claim is more firmly grounded than those of John Thorpe and Sir John Thynne.

Practically, the architect is unknown. We may suppose, from a clear correspondence in style, that the designer of Longleat was the designer also of Somerset House ; but, as we have seen, the authorship of Longleat is undetermined. However, though the architect be forgotten, the building in its day was reputed to be the best domestic edifice in the country. No critical appreciation of it has been found in the literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The writer of a *Critical View of Public Buildings* (1734) was perhaps the earliest to note its special character in relation to English architecture. "I am extremely pleased," he observes, "with the front of the first court of Somerset House, next the Strand, as it affords us a view of the first dawning of taste in England, this being the only fabric that I know of which deviates from the Gothic or imitates the manner of the ancients. Here are columns, arches, and cornices that appear to have some meaning : if proportions are neglected, if beauty is not perfectly understood, if there is a strange mixture of barbarism and splendour in it, the mistakes admit of great alleviations : in all probability the architect was an Englishman, and this is the first attempt to refine on his predecessors. The Duke, who was at the expense of this costly undertaking, is to be applauded for setting this glorious example of a taste till then unknown in the kingdom, for choosing so charming a situation just in the

middle of the bow which the river forms between the bridge and Westminster, commanding the prospect both ways and looking directly on the fine hills of Surrey."

At Somerset's death in 1552 there can be little doubt that the erection of his palace was not achieved.¹ A comparison of the conscious and effective design both of the Strand front and the main quadrangle with the characterless *façade* towards the river, suggests either that the latter belonged to an earlier foundation or that during the reactionary reign of Mary Tudor the original design was purposely set aside. Be this as it may, the river frontage represents a reversion to the pre-Renaissance idea, and shows but a meek advance upon the style exhibited in the adjacent palace of Savoy, with which it may well have been designed to harmonise. Here again we are reminded of the imperfection of historical record. Although Stow leads us to infer that the whole of the site occupied by Somerset House was cleared at one time, reasons are not wanting to support a quite different hypothesis. The residence presented to the Duke in 1539 must be identified with one or the other of the two buildings called Chester Inn in Stow's *Survey*. Both of these buildings once belonged to the Bishop of Chester, but it is not unlikely that in 1539 they were at the King's disposal. At any rate, Chester Inn passed into the Duke's possession as a town mansion. Next we must notice that on the 26th of October, 1547, and again on the 19th of February, 1548, the Duke addressed letters from Somerset Place, and that at his trial he was accused of holding a Court of Requests in his own house at the Strand, and of having, on the 20th of April, 1551, "compassed and imagined with other persons at Somerset Place in the Strand to deprive the King of his royal dignity." There can thus

¹ Walpole states that the walls only were finished when the Duke was led to the scaffold (*Anecdotes of Painting*, vol. i. 218), but on what authority we have failed to ascertain.

be little doubt that throughout his Protectorate Somerset continued to reside at the Strand, either in the house formerly belonging to the Bishop of Chester and renamed Somerset Place, or in a new one erected close by. Moreover, we find in this circumstance a possible explanation of the fact that the design of the river front of Somerset House antedated that of the rest of the structure, and was clearly not made by John of Padua, or any other architect working in the spirit of the Renaissance. The obvious though unauthenticated conclusion is that before Somerset became Protector he had already built a new mansion on the site of old Chester Place, and that afterwards, when the need arose for a more splendid and commodious edifice, the extension to the Strand was undertaken by an architect of the new school.

This part of the building may here be more particularly described. Its Strand façade consisted of a centre and wings. The centre (of three storeys) was composed of a Doric basement with four pillars and entablature, a large arched gateway and niches. The second and third ranges were Ionic with a niche over the gateway in the second, and a double column over the niche in the third. Large windows filled the intercolumniations. The wings (of two storeys) were composed of Doric and Ionic pillars, and their entablatures, with pediments crowning the second tiers. Each wing had four large windows, while the rest of the façade had eight windows with pediments. The gateway from the Strand led into a large courtyard, "garnished on all sides with rows of freestone buildings, and at the front a piazza with stone pillars, which support the buildings, and a pavement of freestone."

Whether, as some have asserted, the architect of this building was an Englishman, or whether, as is maintained by others, the design was by John of Padua, does not affect the question of its style. Style in this instance belongs to the time

rather than to the man. Looking at the Strand façade as here shown, it could not fail to be adjudged by modern authority to the period *circa* 1550 ; and as in every language there are poets whose accents must always remain indistinguishably anonymous, so in architecture there is many a brave reputation unknown. The designer of old Somerset House, not certainly identified among the spirits of his time, was beyond question a man of singular discernment and much original power. He lived in the crucial moment when the flower of Gothic architecture, too long full-blown, had begun leaf by leaf to wither and lose its fragrance, when according to the laws which govern the great movements of the mind, the regenerate graft of a new idea must come to save the old stock from futility and death. That new idea lay in the classic style of Greece and Rome ; and the bold step which he was able to take in that direction establishes the vigour and imaginative capacity of the Lord Protector's architect. Working in a new style is like speaking in a new language : at first the sentences are disjointed and the old accent mars the grace of every expression ; only Time can bring the perfect transmutation. Though Classic in intention and mainly Classic in the details of its execution, we comprehend the Gothic taint of Old Somerset House in a single glance, even in its Strand frontage, while in that towards the river little deviation from the Gothic can be traced. Nevertheless, the building is one of the earliest examples of Renaissance architecture in England ; and it undoubtedly played an important part in the change of taste which continued during the reign of Elizabeth, until the triumph of the Classical style in the work of Inigo Jones involved the extinction of the Gothic which had so long predominated.

CHAPTER II

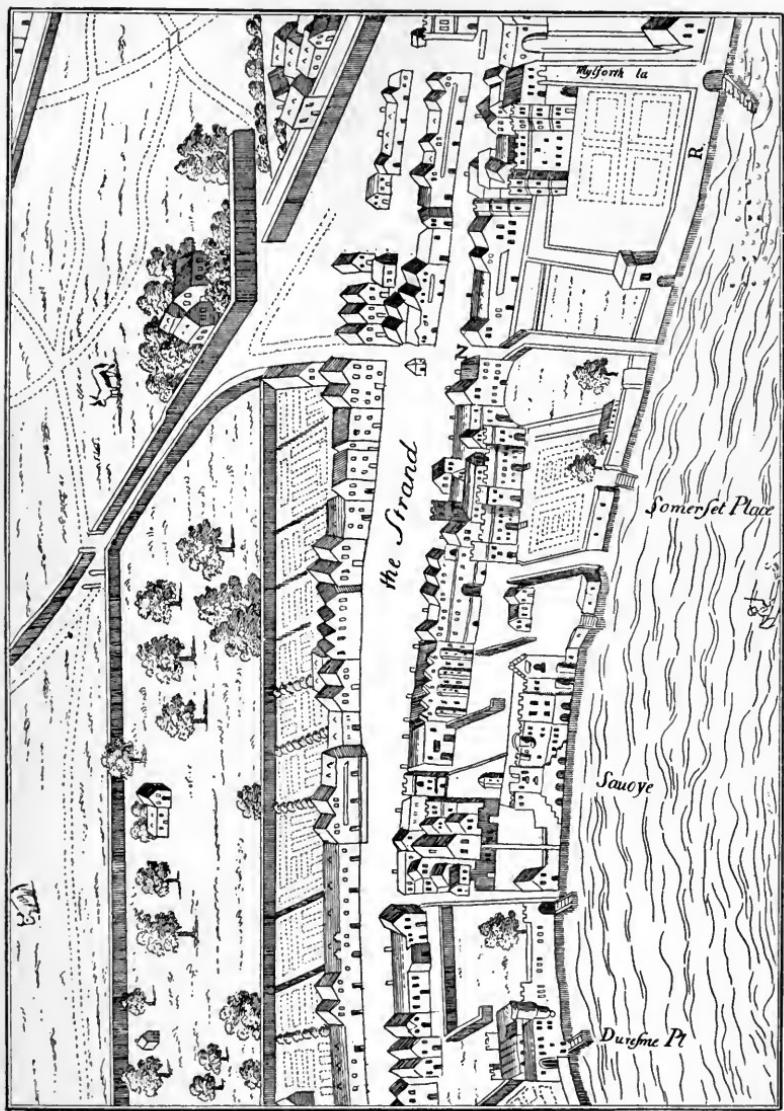
SOMERSET HOUSE UNDER THE TUDORS

“THE Duke of Somerset had his head cut off on Tower Hill.” So runs the laconic entry in the *Journal* of Edward VI., under date the 22nd of January, 1552. Evidence that the young King was interested in the building of his uncle’s palace or that he ever himself contemplated residence there, is not forthcoming. The Duke, condemned on a charge of felony and not for treason, retained for his family the right of succession to the lands and dignities he possessed at death. It was necessary, therefore, in order to complete the downfall of the Seymours, to frame a special Act of Parliament “for the limitation of the late Duke of Somerset’s lands,” and to declare his titles forfeit. Such an Act was passed on the 12th of April, 1552; and in the partition of the estates which immediately followed, the new palace in the Strand was conveyed to the Princess Elizabeth in lieu of Durham House, for which, according to her correspondence of the time, she had made request.

Between the date of the Protector’s death and that of Edward VI.’s, a sum of £900 was charged to the account of the new building, but in what manner it was expended nothing remains to show. Indeed, we do not know in what condition the operations were found at the accession of Mary (6th of July, 1553). Whether, as may be supposed, the work upon the extravagance of which so much stress had been laid by Somerset’s enemies, was suspended at his

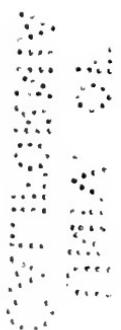
impeachment, or whether it was allowed to proceed according to some modified plan, is not determined by existing records. At any rate, if operations were continued, the building was not completed ; for the MS. copy of Norden's *Speculum Britanniae* (*circa* 1580) describes it as "not fully finished, yet a most stately house and of great receyte having chief prospect towards the South, and the sweet river Thamise offereth manie pleasing delights. The fields also and the aire are sweet and pleasant. The Right Hon. the Lord Hunsdon, Lord Chamberlayne to Her Majestie hath, under Her Majestie, the use thereof." In a collection of undated papers probably relating to the year 1561, is an account of the gross amount of charges incurred at Dover, Somerset Place, Westminster, and Hampton Court, evidently for small repairs ; and under date the 4th of June, 1575, is an "estimate of the works at Somerset House." Further, on the 22nd of July, 1596, a warrant was issued "to pay sums not to exceed £4,000 for repairs to . . . Somerset House, Eltham, Richmond, and others of the Queen's residences." These bald facts, however, do not throw much light on the subject, and we can only surmise that until the reign of James I. the building stood in the condition in which it was left at the beginning of the reign of Mary. In this we are supported by Stow's reference to the palace in the second edition of his *Survey* (1603), which describes it as "yet unfinished."

Concerning Elizabeth's visits to Somerset House there is but scant information. She does not appear ever to have remained long in residence there, although throughout her life, and particularly when she kept her Court at Whitehall, her coach often rumbled across the quadrangle as she came to attend the Council, or to honour one or another of the residents with a call. And on more than one occasion during her reign, the palace formed the background of a pageantry unsurpassed in history.



THE STRAND IN THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH.
From the drawing by Ralph Agas.

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On the 29th of July, 1553, "the lady Elizabeth came riding from her house at Hatfield to London, attended with a great company of lords, nobles, and gentlemen, unto her place called Somerset House, beyond Strand Bridge"; the "great company," according to another account, consisting of two thousand horse, armed with spears, bows, and guns. In the train appeared Sir John Williams, Sir John Bridges, and the Chamberlain, all being dressed in green, their coats faced with velvet, satin, taffeta, silk or cloth according to their quality. Next day Elizabeth rode forth beyond Aldgate to meet her sister the Queen; and when, on the 3rd of August, Mary made her triumphal entry into London, "to take possession of her capital," the Princess rode at her side, receiving a full share of the popular acclamation. For some weeks she was in constant attendance upon the Queen, and during that time continued in residence at Somerset House, "affable and accessible to all, thus making head on her own account."¹ She was here for the obsequies of Edward VI., which took place at Westminster on the 8th of August; here also at the Queen's coronation, when she rode in the royal procession from the Tower to Westminster, seated with the Lady Anne of Cleves (Henry VIII.'s fourth wife) "in a red chariot covered with cloth of silver."

Again, on the 28th of November, 1556, Elizabeth passed through London on her way from Hatfield to Somerset House. A contemporary account describes how there "came riding through Smithfield and Old Bailey and through Fleet Street unto Somerset Place, my good lady Elizabeth's grace, the Queen's sister, with a great company of velvet coats and chains, her grace's gentlemen; and after, a great throng of her men all in red coats, guarded with a broad guard of black velvet and cuts." She was welcomed with delight by the people, and three days later visited the Queen at Whitehall, where she was very graciously received.

¹ *Youth of Queen Elizabeth*, by Louis Wiesener.

She purposed remaining at Court for the Christmas festivities, but a quarrel arose over her refusal to respond to the matrimonial advances of Philibert of Savoy, and two days after her arrival at Whitehall she was despatched under escort to Hatfield. She did not, however, remain long in seclusion. On the 25th of February, 1557, attended by a noble company of lords and gentlemen, she came to do her duty to the Queen, and rested at Somerset House till the 28th, when she repaired to Her Majesty at Whitehall, and was received in state. Then, her duty accomplished, "one morning in March the lady Elizabeth took her horse and rode to the Palace of Shene with a goodly company of lords, knights and gentlemen."¹ This visit was probably in connection with the return to England of Philip of Spain (Mary's husband)—an event which restored the Queen to unwonted cheerfulness, and caused an interval of gaiety in the dismal routine of the Court.

During the following summer Elizabeth entertained the Queen with great magnificence at Hatfield. The reconciliation was evidently gratifying to the Queen, who showed her appreciation of Elizabeth's hospitality by arranging a grand *fête champêtre* at Richmond Palace later in the season. In order to be present on this occasion Elizabeth came specially to Somerset House, and proceeded thence to Richmond by water, the Queen sending a state barge for her conveyance. Upon this barge the Princess sat under a canopy of green silk embroidered with branches of eglantine and golden blossoms, and festooned with garlands of flowers. She was attended by the comptroller of her household, Sir Thomas Pope, and four ladies of honour. Six boats followed with the ladies and gentlemen of her retinue, dressed in robes of russet damask, embroidered with blue satin, and adorned with acorns and spangles, and wearing hats made of cloth of silver and green plumes. Queen Mary received Elizabeth

¹ See Strype's *Memorials*, vol. iii. p. 444.

and her brilliant train in the garden of Richmond Palace, and entertained them at a banquet spread in a pavilion of cloth of gold and violet velvet, embroidered with silk *fleurs de lis* and the golden pomegranate (device of Elizabeth's mother, Anne Boleyn). Following the banquet came a concert in which the most famous minstrels of the time were gathered to gratify the musical taste of the two sisters. At sunset the Queen's barge, all garlanded, was again launched with the Princess on board, and, followed by the train of attendant boats, was rowed slowly back to Somerset House. Since Queen Guenevere went a-Maying into woods and fields beside Westminster, with her lords and ladies clad all in green, there had surely been witnessed no prettier pageant than this of Elizabeth, ending at Somerset House in the summer twilight.

Mary died on the 17th of November, 1558, and "without further tract of time" Elizabeth was proclaimed Queen. Again the event found her at Hatfield, where, three days later, she held her first Council. On the 23rd she began her progress to London. The Bishops met her on the road, and all kissed hands except Bonner (of London), from whom she turned away "as if there had been blood upon his lips." Proceeding to the Charter House, then the town residence of Lord North, she rested there five days. On the 28th of November she took possession of the Tower, where she remained until "the 5th of December being Mondaie on which daie she removed by water unto Summerset place in the Strond where she arrived about ten of the clocke of the forenoone of the same daie." Here she sat in Council daily, viz., December 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, and 22. Concerning these deliberations, Stow remarks that the Queen began then to put in practice that Oath of Supremacy which her father had first ordained, and which soon became the test whereby the Council was sifted of those whose

allegiance to the Roman faith was determined by conscience.

On the 14th of December, 1558, Mary was buried according to the Catholic ritual at Westminster, and on the 23rd Elizabeth transferred her Court from Somerset House to Whitehall.

Notwithstanding her departure, the Palace continued to play an important part in matters pertaining to politics and the life of the Court. The Council, which appears to have met at such places as were found convenient, repeatedly assembled there. Bishop Goodman, writing shortly after the rout of the Armada, gives a graphic description of a pageant witnessed in the courtyard after a meeting of the Council : “In the year '88 I did then live at the upper end of the Strand, near St. Clement's Church, when suddenly there was a report (it was then December, about five, and very dark) that the Queen was gone to Council ; and I was told, ‘If you will see the Queen, you must come quickly.’ Then we all ran, when the Court gates were set open, and no man hindered us from coming in. There we staid an hour and a half, and the yard was full, there being a great number of torches, when the Queen came out in great state ; then we cried, ‘God save your Majesty !’ and the Queen turned to us and said, ‘God bless you all, my good people !’ Then we cried again, ‘God save your Majesty !’ And the Queen said again to us, ‘Ye may well have a greater prince, but ye shall never have a more loving prince.’ And so the Queen and the crowd there, looking upon one another awhile, her Majesty departed. This wrought an impression upon us, for shows and pageants are best seen by torchlight ; that all the way long we did nothing but talk of what an admirable Queen she was, and how we would all adventure our lives in her service. Now this was in the year when she had most enemies, and how easily they might have gotten into the crowd and multitude to do her mischief.”

It is known that the Council sat at Somerset House on the 16th of November, 1589, and that Elizabeth was present. In connection with the Queen's visit on this occasion the bells of St. Margaret's, Westminster, were rung as she arrived, and again as she left on her way to Richmond. Record also exists of a meeting of the Council at Somerset House on the 18th of February, 1593, and of another on the 4th of December, 1595. Indeed, there is good ground for supposing that the deliberations of the Council were ordinarily carried on in an apartment of the palace.

On ascending the throne Elizabeth had shown her regard for the memory of the Lord Protector by restoring certain lands of which his family had been deprived to his son, Edward Seymour, upon whom, moreover, she bestowed the Protector's earlier title of Earl of Hertford, with the right to occupy Somerset House (or part of it) as a residence. The Palace remained in the hands of the Crown, however, and other relatives and dependants of the Queen were lodged in it. From time to time also it was requisitioned for the accommodation of foreign ambassadors and other distinguished visitors from abroad. In 1554, when Philibert of Savoy came to England in quest of Elizabeth's hand, apartments were prepared for him at Somerset House ; but it is not certain they were ever occupied, as the record ends after stating that the Prince was laid up at Dover for fifteen days suffering badly from the voyage oversea. Another suitor, the Duke of Holstein, went by water in the afternoon of the 28th of March, 1560, to take over the apartments which had been assigned to him while he remained in London to plead the advantages of a marriage between Elizabeth and his uncle, Frederick II. of Denmark. Again in 1572, when Francis, Duke of Montmorency, Marshal of France, visited England to seek the hand of Elizabeth for the Duc d'Alençon, youngest brother of Charles IX. of France, he occupied Somerset House. An escort of thirty

of the Queen's yeomen attended him, and he was entertained at the public expense for nearly a month. Notwithstanding this excellent hospitality, the Marshal does not appear to have fared with greater success than his numerous predecessors in the hopeless quest. To judge by the length of his stay, however, his eloquence must have been pleasing to the Queen, who no doubt took advantage of the occasion to tip the political balance in her own favour ; but on the question of matrimony her view had long before been stated with considerable emphasis, if not with warmth : "This shall be for me sufficient," she had said, "that a marble stone shall declare that a queen having reigned such a time died a virgin." About this period also the Count Palatine of the Rhine, an ally of Elizabeth, lived for three weeks at Somerset House while engaged in political business at Whitehall. And towards the close of the reign (29th of February, 1600) we read in a newsletter that "Some great man is expected from France. Some say it is the Duke of Mayenne, and that Somerset House is preparing for him."

Its usefulness in this direction does not appear to have been restricted by any official view of human aspiration or public requirement. Sir William Cecil (afterwards Lord Burleigh) notes in his diary how "Cornelius de la Noye, an alchemist, wrought in Somerset House, and abused many," amongst them the Queen herself, to whom he professed the power of manufacturing gems, of transmuting base metals into gold, and of distilling the draught of perennial youth. Unfortunately for himself, for Queen Elizabeth, and for the world, his promises failed of fulfilment, and "for abusing the Queen's Majesty" he was condemned to exchange his laboratory at Somerset House for a cell in the Tower. A letter from Armigill Waad to Cecil, dated from Somerset Place on the 7th of March, 1566, seems to indicate that Lannoy was on the point of being arrested at that time. The letter explains that "a certain person" has arranged the plan of his depar-

ture, and describes his probable movements prior to his escape, carrying with him his famous medicine or elixir, and the irons for casting ingots. The writer recommends an immediate arrest, which was doubtless effected, for in the following July we find Armigill Waad's report of his examination of Cornelius Lannoy in the Tower. During the next twelve months the magician crops up in prison, vainly promising to put in immediate operation his wonderful elixir if the Queen will but free him of his confinement. Again and again he implored mercy, but it was not until the 28th of May, 1567, that the order was given "for keeping back all boats on the Thames, and for bringing Cor(nelius de la Noye) to Court to-morrow." During the months of his imprisonment Elizabeth may have grown alarmed at the decline of her youth; at any rate she was anxious for the precious distillation, and was willing even to give yet another chance to the incarcerated impostor. What became of Lannoy after his appearance at Court on the 29th of May, 1567, we are not told, but, judging by the ultimate death of Elizabeth, we may conclude that once more he failed in his magic. The Queen's devotion to the occult was, however, notorious; and though Lannoy might deceive her expectations, it is not difficult to imagine the kind of interest his experiments would arouse. The wizard and the quack in that age of wondering inquiry had an ample field for the practice of trickery, and credulous persons on the watch for a new sensation flocked to their demonstrations even more readily than they do to-day.

One of the earliest of Elizabeth's state progresses, that of 1561 into Essex, Suffolk, and Hertfordshire, began at Somerset House, where the Queen spent the night before her departure. The details of her household expenditure on this occasion, preserved in the official accounts, reveal many curious habits and tastes of the time. Ten years later, on the 23rd January, 1571, the Queen, "attended

with her nobility, came from her house in the Strand, called Somerset House," to visit the new Bourse erected by Sir Thomas Gresham. She was at Somerset House in 1575, when she gave the building into the keeping of her cousin, Lord Hunsdon ; and relative to her residence there in 1588, a description has been preserved of the great thanksgiving after the defeat of the Armada.¹ It is the " Proceedinge in State of the High and Mighty Prince Elizabeth, by the Grace of God Queene of England Fraunce and Irland etc., from Somersett Place to St. Paule's Church in London," and enables us to gather some idea of the picturesque animation which from time to time filled the courtyard of the Palace in the Strand. "The foure and twentieth of November (1588), being Sunday, her Majestie having attendant upon her the Privie Councell and Nobilitie and other honourable persons as well Spirituall as Temporall in great number, the French Ambassador, the Judges of the Realme, the Heraults, Trumpetters, and all on horsebacke did come in a chariot-throne made with foure pillars behind to have a canopie, on the toppe whereof was made a crowne imperiall, and two lower pillars before whereon stood a lyon and a dragon, supporters of the armes of Englande, drawn by two white horses from Somerset-house to the Cathedrall Church of St. Paul, her footmen and pensioners about her : next after rode the Earle of Essex, Master of the Horse, leading her Majestie's horse of estate richly furnished : after him a great number of Ladies of Honour, on each side of them the guarde on foot in their rich coats, and halbards in their hands. At what time before she came at the Temple Bar, Edward Schets Corvinus, an officer of her Privie Chamber gave her Majestie a jewell, contayning a crapon or toade-stone set in golde, which she graciously accepting said it was the first gift she had received that day. The same day also her Highnesse received a Booke

¹ See *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth* (Nichols).

entituled *The Light of Britaine* by the gift of Henry Lite of Litescarie, gentleman, the author thereof. Over the gate of the Temple Bar were placed the waites of the Citie. And at the same Bar the Lord Maior, and his brethren the Aldermen in scarlet received and welcomed her Majestie to her Citie and Chamber delivering to her hands the Scepter, which after certain speeches had, her Highnesse redelivered it to the Maior, and he again taking his horse, bare the same before her. The Companies of the Citie in their liveries stooode in their rayles of tymber covered with blue cloth, all of them saluting her Highnesse as shee proceeded along to Paules church, where at the great West door, shee dismounting from her chariot-throne betweene the houres of twelve and one, was received by the Bishop of London, the Deane of Paul's and other of the Clergie, to the number of more than fiftie all in rich coapes, where her Highnesse on her knees made her heartie prayers unto God ; which prayers being finished shee was, under a rich canopie, brought through the long West isle to her travers in the quire, the clergy singing the Letanie ; which being ended shee was brought to a closet of purpose made out of the North wall of the Church towards the pulpit crosse, where she heard a sermon made by Doctor Pierce, Bishop of Salisbury, and then returned through the Church to the Bishop's Palace where shee dined ; and returned in like manner as afore, but with great light of torches." There follows the full order of the procession as it went out in the morning and came back at night. It exhibits a striking similarity to the state processions of our own time, and excepting the lurid effects of the torchlight the spectators at Somerset House on November 24, 1588, might well have been witnesses of the coronation of Edward VII.

While Henry Carey, Lord Hunsdon, lay on his deathbed at Somerset House (1596), Elizabeth, conscience-stricken for her neglect of him, caused a patent for the Earldom

of Wiltshire to be drawn out, robes to be made, and both to be laid upon his bed. But the sick man could not forget her former disregard, and when she came to his chamber he received her with bitter words : “ Madam,” he said, “ seeing you counted me not worthy of this honour whilst I was living, I count myself unworthy of it now I am dying.” The Queen evidently did not long resent the rebuke, for later in the same year she granted the office of keeper of the palace, vacant by Lord Hunsdon’s death, to his widow : “ fee of 12d. a day, and the garden there, fee 6d. a day.”

In view of the subsequent association of Somerset House with the cause of Roman Catholicism, it is interesting to note its connection, up to this point, with the first Protestant rulers of England—with the Lord Protector, by whose activity the movement towards reform was first firmly established, and with Elizabeth, under whom it was achieved.

[*Energy Walker*.]

CONFERENCE OF ENGLISH AND SPANISH PLENIPOTENTIARIES AT SOMERSET HOUSE IN 1604,

From the picture in the National Portrait Gallery, by *Marc Gheeraerts*.

On the right are Robert Cecil (first Earl of Salisbury), Henry Howard (first Earl of Northampton), Charles Blount (Earl of Devonshire), Charles Howard (first Earl of Nottingham, Conqueror of the Spanish Armada), and Thomas Sackville (first Earl of Dorset).

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Photo]



CHAPTER III

SOMERSET HOUSE UNDER THE STUARTS

(i) JAMES I.

WE come now to consider what is perhaps the most fertile and interesting period of our investigation. It is a period of structural change, wherein the genius of Inigo Jones impressed itself so strongly upon English architecture, and Somerset House, restored to the front rank of royal palaces, became the centre of English social life.

Some months elapsed after the death of Queen Elizabeth (24th of March, 1603), before Anne of Denmark, Queen of James I. of England, took up her residence at Somerset House. Quite the most absorbing interest of Anne's life consisted in its pleasures. Of these the chief was her participation in the elegant pastimes which exercised so much of the intellect of her generation, and influenced the progress of English literature and art. If the name of Queen Elizabeth be associated with the greatest period of the English drama, that of Anne—Ben Jonson's *Oriana*, or as he afterwards called her, *Bel Anna*—is as closely attached to history of the English masque and similar entertainments. Copious details of her patronage of these arts are to be found in Nichols's *Progresses of James I.*; at her command many of the masques of Jonson,

Heywood, Samuel Daniel, and Thomas Campion were performed at Court, and not infrequently Her Majesty figured in the cast.¹ Indeed, as late as 1617 we find her dancing at Somerset House in Ben Jonson's "Masque of Christmas," with the newly made Earl of Buckingham and the Earl of Montgomery. The important plays were, however, usually performed at Whitehall, but the Queen had several companies of players, or servants, as they were afterwards called, and doubtless on occasions not sufficiently noteworthy to secure record, plays were presented privately at Somerset House.

Anne, however, was not wholly taken up with the drama. She indulged the taste for building which she had already gratified in Scotland. In 1617 we read of her building at Greenwich, after a plan of Inigo Jones, and she continually employed Jones in architectural changes at Somerset House. Light-hearted and extravagant as she undoubtedly was, the influence of her Court nevertheless stimulated the artistic life of England; her patronage seems to have been readily extended to the production of all graceful things; and it is possible that even while she plunged cheerfully into debt in order to gratify her taste for costly amusements she was unconsciously fostering the special genius of the age.

It is scarcely matter for wonder that Anne's devotion to convivial excitements should have had a counterpart in her coquetry with religion. The intricacies of doctrinal discussion may have served a purpose other than that of mere distraction, but it was nevertheless not clear even to Anne herself whether her sympathy was with Rome or the Protestants. She attended the services of the Church of

¹ Queen Anne appeared personally in Jonson's "Mask of Blackness" (1604), his "Mask of Beauty," and his "Mask of Queens" (1609), Daniel's "Thetys' Festival" (1610) and the "Vision of the Twelve Goddesses."

England with the King, but "never could be induced to partake of the Communion at the hands of a Protestant minister, and those who were admitted to her privacy in Somerset House knew well that as often as she thought she could escape observation she was in the habit of repairing to a garret for the purpose of hearing mass from the lips of a Catholic priest who was smuggled in for the purpose." Notwithstanding this we have proof that when her last hour came she made open confession of her Protestant beliefs. Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, and King, Bishop of London, attended at her deathbed ; when not only did she follow their prayers, but, in answer to the archbishop, declared that she "renounced the mediation of all saints and her own merits and relied only upon her Saviour."

In some particulars Anne found Somerset House more agreeable than the other residences assigned to her. Greenwich Palace, Hampton Court, and Oatlands in Surrey were delightful enough as occasional resorts, but the peculiar requirements of her Court seem to have been best satisfied by the palace in the Strand. Although on good terms with the King she kept a separate establishment during a great part of her abode in England. The arrangement inevitably bred little jealousies in the breast of James, and over the vast sums she expended on her entertainments it is said that her relations with "the little man" sometimes reached the point of rupture. Anne's separate Court was seldom long absent from Somerset House. No doubt that palace had a great advantage in being situated so near the City, whence the poets, wits, and gallants of the time had ready access to it. Indeed, the immediate neighbourhood was described as "an unknown land whereon so many ships of song are stranded or lost to oblivion which is blacker than darkness itself." But if many stranded, some we know sailed gaily about the Court : Ben Jonson, John Donne, Thomas Dekker, Samuel Daniel, Thomas Campion, Michael

Drayton, George Chapman, Thomas Heywood, and perhaps Shakespeare himself, were welcomed there. If nothing else be credited to Anne this at least must be said of her, that she did not misplace her patronage.

How, soon after her arrival at Windsor, in July, 1603, she assumed control of Somerset House, cannot be made out, but as early as August 14, 1604, we find her granting under her own hand to John Gerrard, surgeon and herbarist to the King, the lease of a garden plot adjoining the Palace in consideration of "his singular and approved art, skill, and industry in planting, nursing, and fostering plants, herbs, flowers and fruit," and on condition of his supplying her with herbs, flowers, and fruit according to their seasons throughout the year. On the 10th of October following, she gave to Sir Robert Cecil, Lord Cecil of Essingdon, the keepership of Somerset House in the Strand, with all orchards, walks, gardens, &c., reserving to John Gerrard, of London, the garden plot formerly leased to him, and to Bromfield, the piece of ground assigned for the erection of a tennis court. Gerrard surrendered his interest in the garden plot to Cecil in 1605 ; and in 1608 a warrant dormant was issued delivering £50 per annum during the Queen's life for fees, and also the sums requisite for expenses of the gardens at Theobalds and Somerset House. During the year 1609, the gardens were relaid by William Goodrowse, Sergeant-surgeon, who received £400 for the work, which had probably been necessitated by extensive building operations carried out about this time. What had formerly been a productive plot under the skilled cultivation of John Gerrard became now a formal garden in the Italian style ; and Cecil, finding his interest in it had been rendered valueless, relinquished all control into the Queen's hands, 27th of June, 1611. John Gerrard, here referred to, enjoyed much fame as a herbarist ; he was superintendent of Lord Burghley's gardens in the Strand and at Theobalds, and

compiled a *Herball*, which was issued in 1597, and gained him lasting repute. The plot of ground leased to him is now occupied by the East Wing of Somerset House and King's College. It is described in the original grant as "adjoining on the east part to the mansion house called Somerset House or Strand House, abutting on the west upon the wall of the said house, and on the east upon the lane commonly called Strand Lane, on the south upon the bank or wall of the river of Thames, and on the north upon the back side of the house standing in the high street, called the Strand, containing by estimation two acres or thereabouts." A gate led out of this garden into Strand Lane, enabling Gerrard to conduct his business without disturbing the privacy of the Queen's palace.

In August, 1605, King Christian of Denmark, Queen Anne's brother, who, on 14th of July, 1603, had received the Order of the Garter at the hands of the Earl of Rutland, at Elsinore, sent Henricus Ramelius, his secretary, to England, "to be solemnlie enstalled in his right." Ramelius, attended only by thirty gentlemen, and twenty others of inferior nature, was, at King James's appointment and charge, lodged and dited at Somerset House. Here the party was "served by the King's Gentlemen, Ushers, Yeomen of the Guard, and Gromes of the Chamber; and their meate dressed by his Highnesse chiefe cookes." By his lavish entertainment of the Danish envoy, James studied to impress his royal brother-in-law, who, in 1606, visited England in person, and was also entertained at Somerset House. On the occasion of this visit the name of the palace seems to have been changed to Denmark House. Dr. Fuller states that this was done, at James's express command, in honour of the royal Dane; indeed, he goes so far as to add that the name was confirmed by the King's Proclamation. But, on the other hand, Arthur Wilson, historian and chronicler of the period, who consistently

refers to the building as "the Queen's palace in the Strand," says, under the year 1610, that Her Majesty "affected to call" her residence Denmark House in compliment to her brother, but that this appellation obtained chiefly by courtesy among her domestics and dependents. A newsletter of the 8th of March, 1617,¹ however, states that the building was not renamed until the Shrove Tuesday of that year when King James was brilliantly entertained in the palace at the Queen's expense. Whichever of these versions is correct, whether James did or did not rename the palace by proclamation in honour of King Christian, he certainly went to very great lengths in the welcome he extended to that monarch ; for his expenses in connection with the event, together with those incurred in the subsequent reception at Hampton Court of the Prince de Vaudemont, son of the Duke of Lorraine, consumed nearly the whole of a subsidy of £453,000, which had been granted by Parliament for the "necessary and urgent demands" of his household.

King Christian's visit appears to have been particularly agreeable to James, who was always eager for an opportunity to display his wit and the magnificence of his Court. A contemporary chronicle narrates in great detail "the most Royall and Honourable Entertainment of the most famous and renowned King Christian the fourth, King of Denmarke, who with a fleet of gallant ships arrived on Thursday the 17th day of July, 1606, in Tylbury-hope, neere Gravesend. . . . With the Royal passage on Thursday the 31st of July through the City of London and the honourable

¹ John Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton. At this time the newsletters were the main channel by which events became known. Originally they were written by professional newsvendors and sent by them to their employers weekly. In the early years of the seventeenth century little printed news-sheets made their appearance, and gradually the written form was superseded. The news was largely collected in the coffee-houses, and the letters are an accurate reflection of the times just as the newspapers are of to-day.

Shewes there presented and the manner of their passing." The interval, which was spent at Greenwich Palace, at Theobalds, and again at Greenwich, is minutely described, and the record ends : " Heere-hence they proceeded to Temple Barre ; where his Majestie and his Brother King giving many thanks unto the Lord Mayor and Citizens for their great charge and paines, delivered the sword to the Lord Mayor, and rode on their way to Somerset House, where they reposed themselves that night, and to their gracious further pleasures. Thus finished this daye's work to God's glorie and their Highness' great delight ; which the Omnipotent Giver of all Grace, and Preserver of His, ever encrease and protect them and all their Royal Progenie, from all detestable practices in this world ; and in the last, Heaven be their inheritance. Amen, Amen."¹

The conduct of their Majesties on this occasion scarcely accords with the spirit of the petition. It is recorded elsewhere that the days they spent together were distinguished by great intemperance on the part of both monarchs, and that Christian, moreover, was guilty of indecent behaviour to the ladies about the Court, especially to the wife of the High Admiral, the Countess of Nottingham, who expressed her keen resentment of his conduct in a spirited letter to the Danish Ambassador. As we have seen, Anne's Court at Somerset House was not squeamish in its morals. In all probability the liberties taken by His Majesty of Denmark passed generally as acts of royal gallantry. Be this as it may, King Christian was so greatly pleased by his reception that, unsolicited and unexpected, he revisited the English Court in 1614, and led James to squander a sum of £50,000, which he obtained from his subjects under the specious title of a benevolence.

¹ *Progresses of James I.* (Nichols).

"The affection between the Queen and her brother the King of Denmark was very great ; and this second visit to England had no object but the pleasure of seeing her, and giving her a happy surprise. He arrived in Yarmouth roads July 19, 1614, accompanied by his lord admiral and lord chancellor. He landed privately, travelled with post-horses to Ipswich, and on to Brentwood, where he slept without any one suspecting his royal rank. Thus incognito he arrived at an inn in Aldgate where he dined. Thence, hiring a hackney coach, he went to the Queen's Court at Somerset House, and had entered her presence chamber before any one of her household was aware of his arrival in England. His royal sister was not present at the moment : she was dining privately in the gallery. While the King of Denmark mixed unknown among the courtiers who were awaiting the Queen, Cardel, the dancer, looked in his face very earnestly, and then said to a French gentleman, one of Her Majesty's officers, that 'the stranger-gentleman close by was the greatest resemblance to the King of Denmark he ever saw in his life.' Then hastening to his royal mistress he told her that her brother was certainly in the palace ; but Anne treated the information with scorn. But while the matter was in discussion, the King of Denmark entered the gallery, and raising his hand as a signal of silence to the attendants, he approached his sister's chair. Anne was seated with her back to him ; and putting his arms around her, ere she was aware, he gave her a kiss ; whereby she learned the verity of that she had before treated as falsehood. The Queen in great joy took off the best jewel she wore that day, and gave it to the Frenchman whose tidings she had mistrusted. Next she despatched a post to King James who was absent on a distant progress, and then devoted herself to her brother's entertainment. King James made such haste home from Nottinghamshire, that he was at Somerset House on the Sunday, where he was present with the Queen,

the King of Denmark, and Prince Charles, at a sermon preached by Dr. King, Bishop of London."¹

This sudden appearance of the Royal Dane excited much curiosity among politicians, but it was purely a visit of friendship, and apparently the outcome of a whim. Hawking, hunting, bear-baiting, and tilting at the ring were the daily diversions of the royal party. Plays were acted every night, except Sunday night, when the King of Denmark, at his own expense, entertained the English Court in the gardens at Somerset House by a display of fireworks of his own devising. The King no doubt possessed a peculiar genius for pyrotechny, for the exhibition he provided is described as the most beautiful ever seen in England. Throughout the visit, he easily maintained the reputation for carousing which he had established eight years before ; and James marked his approval of it by a liberal self-indulgence. On the 1st of August the royal guest took leave of his sister, and James accompanied him to Woolwich. After inspecting the shipyard of Phineas Pett, a famous naval architect of the time, they proceeded to the "Ship Tavern," at Greenwich, where they dined. King Christian then boarded his ship, which had come round from Yarmouth, and sailed away for Denmark.

Although during the entertainment of the Danish king, the festivities centring in Somerset House were of exceptional magnificence, the Court there, without the tonic of a royal visit, was still a brilliant focus of gaiety. Between King Christian's first sojourn in London and the failure of the Queen's health came a sequence of social merrymakings broken only by the death of the Prince of Wales, and reaching here and there a theatrical climax in the reception of some man of mark. The courtyard echoed light-hearted laughter, the dance and the carousal ; the gardens, the sigh and the stolen kiss. Indeed, the Queen's

¹ Newsletter : Mr. Lorkin to Sir T. Puckering.

household was a “continued Maskarado where she and her ladies, like so many sea nymphs or Nereides, appeared in various dresses to the ravishment of the beholders, the King himself being not a little delighted with such fluent elegancies as made the nights more glorious than the day. But the latitude that their high-flying fancies, and more speaking actions gave to the lower world to judge and censure even the greatest with reproaches, shall not provoke me so much as to stain the innocent paper. . . . As she (the Queen) had her favourites in one place the King had his in another. She loved the elder brother, the Earl of Pembroke, he the younger whom he made Earl of Montgomery and Knight of the Garter.”¹ One contemporary was delighted by “her (the Queen’s) seemly hayre downe trailing on her princely-bearing shoulders,” while another considered the draperies affected by the ladies of the Court “too light and courtezan-like for such great ones.” The Countess of Dorset tells how “the ladies about the court have gotten such ill names that it is grown a scandalous place, and the Queen herself much fallen from her former greatness and reputation she had in the world.” The extravagance in details of attire resulted in great part from the Queen’s passion for the masque. It was associated in her case with an enormous expenditure on jewelry and “physical and odoriferous parcels” from the East. No taste, however costly, was subject to restraint. Gaiety, magnificence, luxury : these were the features of the Court of Anne. Small wonder that the indulgent King of Denmark enjoyed himself so well!

During the entertainment of the Count Palatine by King James in the latter half of 1612 the Queen, always on the alert for opportunities of social excitement, asked the King to present his guest to her, and James, confident in Anne’s

¹ *Life and Reign of James I.*, by Arthur Wilson, Esq.



Photo]

ANNE OF DENMARK.

[*Emery Walker,*

National Portrait Gallery,
To face page 74.

Paul van Somer.

1900-1901
1901-1902

ability to do him credit on occasions of this kind, readily acquiesced. On the 21st of September the Count and his mistress spent "the whole day" at Somerset House. The impressions of the Count have not been recorded, but it may be surmised, in view of his tarrying "the whole day," that the Queen's hospitality reached its customary level.

The death of Henry, Prince of Wales, at the age of eighteen, on the 10th of November following, cast a cloud of gloom over the Court. As the Prince lay dying at St. James's Palace the King, "apprehending the worst, and not enduring to be so near the place, removed to Theobalds and kept his bed." On the 5th of November crowds thronged every avenue from the Palace to Somerset House. The people were commemorating the anniversary of Gunpowder Plot in grotesque and whimsical pageantry, and all night long as they stood in the streets their thoughts turned from the occasion of their merry-making to the Prince on his deathbed. Some wept and groaned as tidings of the increasing pangs were brought out from time to time and carried to the Queen, who, fearing infection, had withdrawn to her own apartments at Somerset House. Not long before the fatal announcement she had been told that the nostrum prescribed by Sir Walter Raleigh was effecting a wonderful cure. Accordingly the revulsion she experienced on hearing of the Prince's death was extreme. Rage mingled with the paroxysms of her grief and despair, and in her anguish she declared her son the victim of some murderous poisoner. For a full month she sat at Somerset House in a darkened room hung with black; nor would she even in 1614 attend a solemnity of which her second son, Charles, was to be the central figure, lest she should renew her grief in the memory of his more fondly-loved brother.

By that time, however, she had so far recovered from her bereavement as to seize upon the occasion of the marriage

of Robert Ker, Lord Roxborough, with Jane, daughter of Patrick Lord Drummond, for great display and rejoicing. The marriage took place on the 3rd of February, 1614, at Somerset House, the King being present at the shows and devices which followed it. The important feature of these shows and devices was a masque which the Queen had commissioned specially for the occasion. It was written by the poet Daniel, and entitled *Hymen's Triumph: A pastorall Tragicomædie, presented at the Queen's Court in the Strand at her majestie's magnificent entertainment of the King's most excellent majestie being at the nuptials of the Lord Roxborough.* Describing this occasion a contemporary newsletter observes, "This day se'nnight the Lord Roxburgh married Mrs. Jane Drummond at Somerset House, or Queen's Court, as it must now be called. The King tarried there till Saturday after dinner. The entertainment was great, and cost the Queen, they say, £3,000. The pastorall by Samuel Daniel was solemn and dull, but perhaps better to be read than represented."¹ It is doubtful whether the Queen took part in the performance, but over the whole function hers was the presiding genius. From other sources we learn that the play as then presented was a somewhat indelicate entertainment, and for several years afterwards ribald jests to which it had given occasion were current in the higher circles of society. This may, however, be accounted a characteristic of the time rather than of the play. That the performance was of a kind to which the Queen was passionately addicted is not so much a criticism upon her tastes as upon the conventions which regulated her life.

The day after the marriage "the Lord Mayor and all the Aldermen were invited, and had rich gloves. They went thither in pomp, and were graciously used; and, besides their great cheer and many healths, had a play. They

¹ John Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton, February 10, 1614.

presented the Bride with a fair cup and two hundred Jacobin pieces or double sovereigns in it."¹ But the proceedings were not all distinguished by such good will, for "there fell out a brabble or quarrell 'twixt the Earl of Essex and young Hegden (son of Sir C. Hegden) with one hand ; which was to be decided presently, but that while the other went to fetch his sword the Earl was stayed upon the water by the Archbishop of Canterbury. The Queen took this as an affront to her feast ; so there is a great fault laid on Hegden, who is committed to the Fleet ; and if he find not better friends may pay dear for it. The day was dismal to him and his house ; for in the morning there was a decree in Chancery that the Sheriff and Justices of Norfolk should raise the country and thrust his father out of the possession of all he hath."²

Serious as the incident proved to the Hegden family, it did not disturb the even tenour of the Queen's plans. A fortnight later she feasted "all that gave presents to the Bride ; at least all the nobility, of which there was so great an assembly that the Lady Roxborough, the bride, was the lowest at the table. That night she likewise feasted all the gentlemen belonging to the Earls of Pembroke, Worcester, Southampton, and others, that had waited on the marriage, and gave them thanks and her hand to kiss ; for she would not be served by any of the King's servants."³ Even a queen may not have weddings when she pleases ; but Anne was peculiarly favoured. A short time after the wedding just described she married another of her maids, a daughter of Lady Somerset, to Rodney, a man of good living in the West of England, and on the 25th of May, 1615, Sir Robert Mansell was married at Denmark House to Mistress Roper, yet another of her maids, both occasions being dis-

¹ John Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton, February 10, 1614.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*, February 17, 1614.

tinguished by a renewal of the gay conviviality which had marked the nuptials of Lord and Lady Roxborough.

In connection with the Shrovetide festivities of 1617 the King spent some days at Denmark House, where, on the 15th of March, he stood to view the procession to Windsor of two new Knights of the Garter, Lord Knollys and Viscount Fenton, with three hundred attendants each.

Early in 1618 the Queen's health began rapidly to fail. The dropsy which three years earlier had manifested itself, came on again with renewed virulence. "Her Majesty is not well. They say she languisheth, whether with melancholy or sickness or what not ; yet she is still at Whitehall, being scant able to remove." Nevertheless she went over to Somerset House to escape the bustle of Shrovetide, that season being kept at James's Court with much enjoyment. In the midst of the revels at Whitehall James was attacked with gout in the knees, and became unmanageable by his attendants. Despite her own malady Anne made several journeys from Somerset House to comfort him.

In the following December we read that "the Queen is better, and will spend Christmas at Denmark House," but soon afterwards she went to Hampton Court, and took to her bed. A newsletter tells that "the King has been to visit the Queen at Hampton Court ; danger is apprehended ; the courtiers already plot for the leases of her lands, the keeping of Somerset House, and the rest for implements and moveables as if they were to divide the spoil."¹ The illness did, indeed, terminate fatally. Anne died at Hampton Court on the 2nd of March, and a week later her body was carried at night by water to her favourite palace in the Strand, where it lay unburied till the 13th of May.

A newsletter of the 19th of April describes how "the Queen's funeral is like to be deferred for want of money to

¹ John Chamberlain to Sir D. Carleton, January 2, 1619.

buy the blacks (for Sir Lionel Cranfield saith he will not take them upon credit) till the latter end of May. But whilst he is thus provident in forecasting the best way for the King's profit in buying the cloaths at best hand, some think he casts up ill account of that expense his majesty is like to be at all the interim in maintaining the Queen's Household which wants nothing of its full allowance till the Funeral be celebrated."¹ While the dead Queen lay at Somerset House the members of her household lived there in comfort, and spent their long leisure in settling her affairs among themselves. Nevertheless, before the funeral the ladies were weary of watching at the bier, although a greater concourse of them had assembled than ever during the Queen's life.

The interment eventually took place in Henry VII.'s chapel at the Abbey on May 13, 1619. The full order of the procession and ceremonial is given by Camden, but the following account is perhaps more graphic :—

" It were to no purpose to make any long description of the Queen's funeral, which was but a drawling, tedious sight, more remarkable for number than for any other singularity, there being two hundred and eighty poor women besides an army of mean fellows that were servants to the Lords and others of the Train. And though the number of Lords and Ladies was very great, yet methought that altogether they made but a poor show, which perhaps was because they were apparelled all alike or that they came laggering all along even tired with the length of the way (Somerset House to Westminster) and weight of their cloaths, every lady having twelve yards of broad cloth about her, and the Countesses sixteen. The Countess of Arundel was chief mourner, being supported by the Duke of Lennox and the Marquis of Hamilton ; as likewise the rest had some to lean on, or else I see not how they had been able to hold out. The

¹ Mr. Lorkin to Sir T. Puckering, April 19, 1619.

Prince came after the Archbishop of Canterbury who was to make the Sermon, and went before the corps that was drawn by Six horses. It was full six o'clock at night before all the solemnity was done at Church, where the herse is to continue till next term, the fairest and stateliest that I think was ever seen there.”¹

The King was at Newmarket, too unwell to be present at the obsequies ; but he evidently had a speedy recovery, since four days afterwards he arrived at Greenwich, whither “all the Queen’s coffers and cabinets were brought from Somerset House in four carts and delivered by inventory to his Majesty by Sir Edward Coke, the Queen’s auditor.” During the interval between the Queen’s death and her burial at Westminster £36,000 worth of her jewels had disappeared. Pierrot, her French attendant, and Anna, her Danish maid, were suspected of having abstracted them from the royal apartments at Somerset House, together with a vast sum of ready money which Anne was supposed to have hoarded ; but although these suspects were imprisoned, no trace of the missing valuables was discovered until 1621, when an accident disclosed them in a secret coffer, where the Queen herself had probably placed them.

Allusion has been made to structural changes at Somerset House carried out by Inigo Jones under Anne’s direction, but little evidence is forthcoming to show in what those changes consisted. According to a ground plan in the folio of drawings ascribed to John Thorpe, only the great quadrangle existed in his day. The smaller quadrangle and the wing towards the east may, therefore, be regarded as belonging to the time of Anne.

Strype says that “the Palace was greatly improved and beautified by this Queen, who added much to it in the way of new buildings, Inigo Jones being called in to furnish the designs. She also brought a supply of water to it by pipes

¹ John Chamberlain to Sir D. Carleton, May 14, 1619.



Photo]

INIGO JONES.

[*Emery Walker*.]

*From the picture in the National Portrait Gallery, copied, probably by
Henry Stone, from the original by Vandyck.*

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laid on from Hyde Park ; ”¹ and Samuel Daniel’s dedication of his pastoral (“Hymen’s Triumph,” produced on the 3rd of February, 1614, as already described) clearly points to an extension of the building carried out before that time :—

“Here what your sacred influence begat
Most loved and most respected Majesty
With humble heart and hand I consecrate
Unto the glory of your memory
As being a piece of that Solemity
Which your magnificence did celebrate
In hallowing of those roofs you reared of late
With fires and chearefull hospitality.”

Preserved among the State papers of James’s reign are several summary accounts of moneys expended upon works and repairs at Somerset House “as well for new buildings as the alteration of the old.” The first account relates to the month of March, 1607, the last to May, 1610; but although the sums provided amount to a total of several thousands of pounds, so meagre are the details vouchsafed that little exact information can be gleaned. It is evident, however, that the new buildings covered part of the garden formerly leased to John Gerrard. This garden was described in the original grant as extending on the north to the back side of the house standing in the high street called the Strand ; but subsequently it was enclosed on the north by the front of a wing of the palace, and the remaining space was laid out in the Italian style as an ornamental pleasaunce, by William Goodrowse, in 1609, probably after completion of the building operations in connection with the new wing.

A good measure of Inigo Jones’s success at Anne’s Court may be traced to his former residence in Denmark and to the excellent faculty he displayed in designing costumes and

¹ See Stow’s *Survey*, Ed. 1720, Book IV., p. 105.

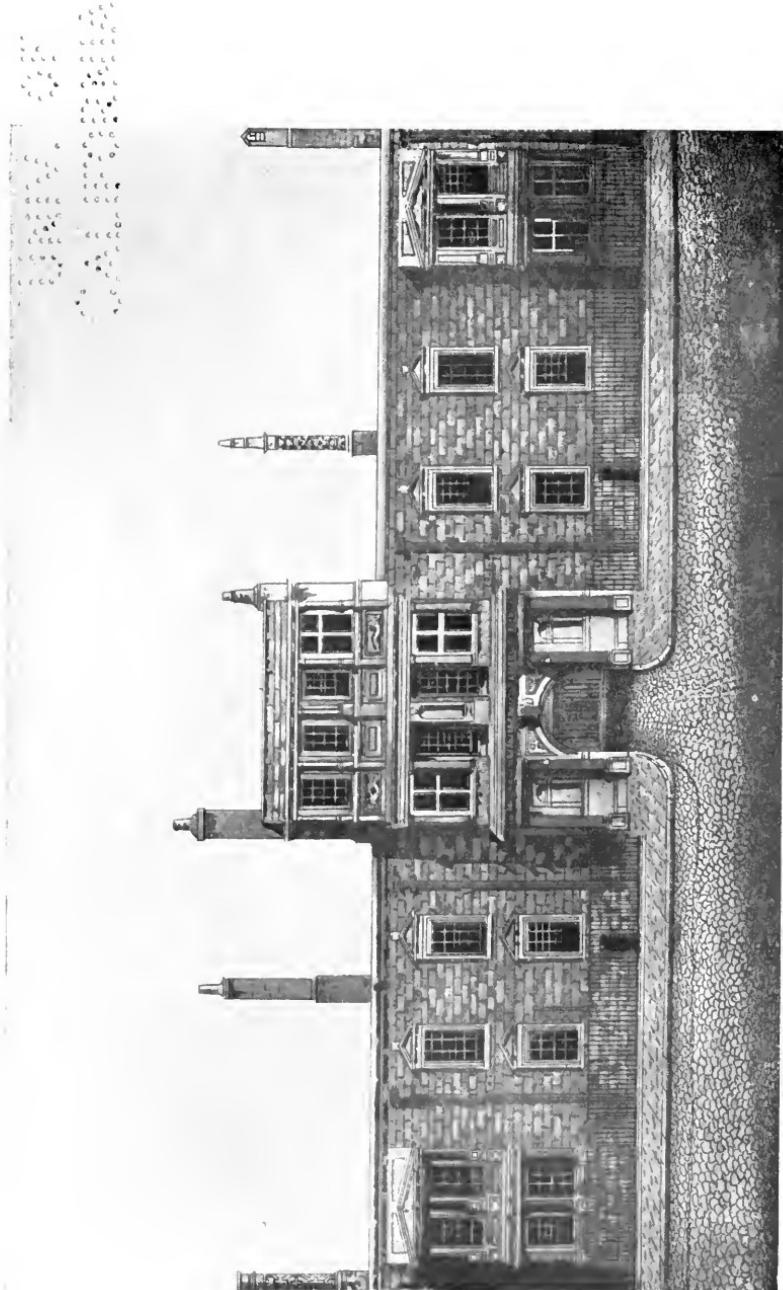
scenery for many plays presented both at Somerset House and Whitehall ; indeed, he was much favoured by Anne, who made use of his gifts for whatever purpose attracted her fancy. To her it was not of great moment whether he was engaged upon the permanent fabric of her palace or upon the flimsiest adornment for the stage or the table ; whatever he did contributed to her enjoyment, more perhaps by its novelty than by its gracefulness. At the time of her death Jones had just completed his design for the magnificent palace which James I. contemplated building at Whitehall, and of which the Banqueting House (now the Royal United Service Museum) was to form but an insignificant part. Compared with such an undertaking the work at Somerset House was not important, and it is scarcely remarkable that all definite account of it should have been lost.

During the later years of James's reign the palace was used only for occasional purposes. A number of Court dignitaries doubtless remained in residence there, but with the death of Anne it ceased to be a rendezvous for the notabilities and sociabilities of the time. In September, 1619, it was conveyed to the Prince of Wales, "with divers small tenements in the Strand thereto belonging," and the Duke of Buckingham was appointed keeper. But the Prince still kept his Court at St. James's. During the Shrovetide festivities of 1620, however, he gave a grand ball and banquet at Somerset House to King James and the nobility, wagering the cost of it upon a game of tennis with Buckingham. The match was played in the court attached to the palace, and Charles was the loser. At the ball were "many mistresses and valentines, a custom lately grown into request ; and though abundance of sweetmeats was provided there was no supper."

In April, 1622, the Emperor's ambassador was entertained in the Palace at the King's charge ; but interest was not

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THE STRAND FRONT.
From an engraving by W. M. Fellowes, after the print of W. Moss, 1777.



rekindled until, as a result of the escapade of Prince Charles and the Duke of Buckingham at the Spanish Court, elaborate preparations were set on foot for their return. The religious difficulties by which the alliance with Spain was eventually frustrated were reasonably met on the side of England, for in May, 1623, it had been decided that the marriage should secure "toleration for Catholics, abandonment of the Hollanders, permission for Spanish vessels to victual in English ports, and a jointure for the Infanta of £8,000 for every £100,000 of the £600,000 she brings. The Spanish Ambassador has surveyed the lodgings appointed for her at Denmark House and St. James's, and ordered a new chapel at each place, which Inigo Jones is to prepare with great costliness. The Savoy Chapel is to be given up to her household."¹ But with the departure of Charles and Buckingham from England, control of the relations with Spain passed out of the King's hands. The Government was left in a condition of anxiety as to what the upshot of the adventure would be. The importance of the marriage did not end in the union of Charles and the Infanta : it was hoped that it would be the means of recovering the Palatinate from the grasp of the Emperor, who held it against the right of the Elector Frederick, husband of James's daughter Elizabeth.

Bonfires were lighted in London when Charles arrived in Madrid, and a fleet was equipped to fetch the Infanta to England. On the 8th of March, 1623, the Lord Chamberlain was instructed "to make timely preparations for the reception of the Prince and the Infanta of Spain and to prepare houses to receive them, their trains and the grandes who will attend them. Those thought of are St. James's, Somerset House, and Durham House." On the 14th of May an order was issued : "To clear St. James's and Denmark House from all who dwell or lodge there,

¹ Chamberlain to Carleton.

and thus hinder the preparing and keeping them sweet against the arrival of the Prince and the Infanta." Speaking of the Chapel which was in contemplation at Somerset House the King exclaimed, "We are building a temple to the devil."

To what extent the alterations provoking this remark affected the fabric of the palace is not clear. No charge for new buildings can be discovered at this time, and if changes were actually made they consisted probably in the adaptation of an existing apartment to the usage of the Roman Church. At any rate when two years later the body of King James was laid in state at Somerset House it is certain that no chapel existed there. But the terms which the Spanish had exacted on behalf of the English Catholics were extremely distasteful to James ; indeed, to quote his own words, he was "not a monsieur who can shift his religion as easily as he can shift his shirt when he cometh from tennis."

The expedition to Madrid proved a failure, how complete may be judged from the fact that when in October, 1623, Charles and Buckingham returned to the King at Royston they urged immediate war against Spain. The direction which affairs were taking rendered more than ever hopeless the effort to restore the Elector to his Kingdom ; but not to be entirely baffled in this project overtures were commenced at the French Court with the dual object of securing the co-operation of Louis XIII. by a marriage between Charles and Henrietta Maria, the French King's sister. Again, however, the question of religion proved an obstacle, and it was not until Charles and Buckingham insisted upon an arrangement that James was induced to agree to articles which, after all, were to give the English Catholics the liberty they sought. James signed this treaty at Cambridge on the 12th of December, 1624. But in a few weeks further differences arose between France and England on the subject of

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THE QUADRANGLE.
From an engraving by W. M. Fellowes, after the print of W. Moss, 1777.

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the Palatinate ; and when in March, 1625, the King died at Theobalds, Charles was still unmarried and the temper of the French Government was unsympathetic if not definitely hostile.

After the King's death his body " was forthwith embalmed with all due rytes apperteyning thereunto, and being seared and wrapped in lead was put into a sumptuous coffyn which was filled up with odours and spices within, and covered without with purple velvett, the handles nayles and all other iron-worke about it being richly hatched with gold. . . .

" His Majestie King Charles, for the better despatch of things pertinent to the state and ceremony for so great a Prince, appointed certain commissioners (named) who, meeting in the Council Chamber at Whitehall upon Tuesday, the 29th of the sayd month of Marche, did order that upon Monday following the corps of his late Majestie should be brought from Theobalds to Denmarke House."¹ After describing the removal of the body from Theobalds in a carriage drawn by six goodly black horses the writer proceeds : " The Lord Mayor and the Alderman stayd in Smythfeld and so the proceedinge going on by Holborne, by Chancery Lane, and so along to Denmarke-House. The Guard on horseback carried torches round about the body bareheaded and torches were in great plenty delivered to the footmen of all Noblemen and other persons of quality then present who bore them by their coaches.

" About 8 of the clock that night the body arrived at Denmarke-house and was taken forth of the caryage and borne by the Gentlemen of the Privie Chamber into the lobby beyond the Privie-chamber there, which was prepared for that purpose, and a frame of boards lyke a large bedd so made that the coffin was set even with the worke, and then that was covered with a fyne holland sheet conteyning forty

¹ MS. in the Lansdowne Collection, British Museum.

ells and a large pall of velvett blacke conteyning sixty-nine yards, which sheet was turned up about a yard and sewed to the velvett. Six goodly large and high silver candlesticks which King Charles had bought when he was in Spaine were placed about the Body and in them were put tapers of four foot in length of virgins' wax which burned all night. A canopie was provided to hange over this bed, the chamber was hanged with black velvett and a Majestie scutcheon over the King's head wrought upon cloth of gold. Ymedately a representation of his Majestie was layd upon the said pall over the Body, in his robes of estate and Royale diadem and so it contynewd untill the Funerall, all Kinge James his servants removinge from Whitehall to Denmarke House, and Kinge Charles his servants from St. James's to Whitehall, the service contynewd in all points as if his Majestie had byn lyveinge : And the roomes that were prepared at Denmark House with mourning were theis : the Bed-chamber was hanged with blacke velvett (as hath byn sayd) downe to the ground. The Privy-chamber was lykewise hanged with black velvett, and a fayre state and haute-pace of velvett, the floare covered with black cloths and a majestie scucheon on the State, the roome adorned with escuehons of tafaty ; the Presens was hung with black cloth downe to the ground and the floore covered with bayes adorned with scucheons of buckram with mettall, a cloth of estate of black velvett with a majestie scutcheon with chayres, cusheons, and foot-pace of the same ; the Guard Chamber was hanged with bayes downe to the ground, the roome strowed with rushes, and over the gate upon a square of black velvett was set the hatchment of His Majestie's armes done in a large manner in oyle, which afterwards the Office of Armes bought of the porters by the Gate whose fee it was and set it up for a memoriall in their Hall at Derby House.

"The last of Aprill the Body was removed out of the

bed-chamber into the Privy Chamber at Evening, the Officers of Armes waytinge in their coates. On Thursday followinge it was removed into the Presence ; and on Fridaye night it should have been removed into the Chappell, but there being no Chappell in Denmarke House the Hall was appointed for that purpose and a hearse prepared with pillars, rayles, valence and fringes and other thereto belonging, where the Body should have been removed that night, but things not being ready it was done the next morninge verye earlye, the Officers of Armes attending till the time of proceedinge to Church."

A minute and lengthy account of the procession is given, but the following extract from a newsletter deals with the event in sufficient detail :—

"The great Funeral was on the 7th of this month, the greatest indeed that was ever known in England, there being blacks distributed for above 9,000 persons, the herse likewise being the fairest and best fashioned that hath been seen, wherein Inigo Jones the Surveyor did his part. The King himself was chief mourner and followed on foot from Denmark House to Westminster Church where it was five o'clock stricken before all was entered and the Lord Keeper took up two hours in the Sermon, which they say we shall shortly have in print ; so that it was late before the offering and all other ceremonies were ended. In fine all was performed with great magnificence, but the order was very confused and disorderly. The whole charge is said to arise to above £50,000."¹

"The first mourners," says Sir Simonds D'Ewes in his Diary, "set out from Somerset House about 10 o'clock in the morning, and the last came not to Westminster till about four in the afternoon ; and no marvaile, seeing the number of the mourners was near upon eight thousand. The sermon ended not till about 7 of the clock at

¹ Chamberlain to Carleton, May 14, 1625.

night. I was a spectator of the whole funeral pomp and in a most convenient place in the Strand near Somerset House, on the other side of the way."

The pageant undoubtedly ranks among the most striking in the history of this country.

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Photo

HENRIETTA MARIA,

[*Emery Walker.*

*From an old copy in the National Portrait Gallery of the original painting
by Vandyck.*

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CHAPTER III (*continued*)

SOMERSET HOUSE UNDER THE STUARTS

(ii.) CHARLES I.

NOTWITHSTANDING the strained relations existing between France and England at James's death, Charles I. was married by proxy to Henrietta Maria on the 11th of May, 1625. Viscount Kensington, to whom the arrangement of the nuptials had been entrusted, wrote from Paris that the Princess, then in her fifteenth year, was "the sweetest creature in all France."¹ This information can scarcely have been new to Charles, who spent some days at the French Court when on his way to Madrid in 1623, and would not miss a sight of the fascinating girl ; but his thoughts at the time were centred in the Spanish Infanta, and the childish charms of Henrietta Maria may well have escaped his memory.

On the 23rd of June the King received his bride at Canterbury, whither she had been conducted by Buckingham. Travelling thence, the Royal party went on board a State barge at Gravesend, where they reviewed the fleet. After-

¹ February 26, 1625. The poet Waller in an early tribute to the young Queen's beauty wrote the verses—

" Such a complexion and so radiant eyes
Such lovely motion, and such sharp replies ;
Beyond our reach and yet within our sight,
What envious power has placed this glorious light ! "

wards they were rowed up to London attended by a magnificent *entourage*. The flotilla after passing London Bridge at about five o'clock in the afternoon, made direct for Somerset House, the Queen's dower-palace.¹

On the housetops, on barges, lighters, ships' hulls, and wherries was crowded a multitudinous throng of people anxious for a glimpse of the new Queen. Their enthusiastic plaudits mingled with the roar of cannon shots. "On each side of the Thames were fifty good ships discharging their ordnance as their Majesties passed along by—as last of all the Tower did, such a peal as I believe she (the Queen) never before heard the like. The King and Queen were both in green suits. The barge windows, notwithstanding a vehement shower, were open and all the people shouting amain. She often put out her hand and shaked it unto them."² As the pageant neared its destination a ship's hull capsized for want of ballast, and over a hundred spectators were immersed in the Thames. The accident occasioned much alarm among the Royal party; but happily no lives were lost, and the popular demonstration swelled in fervent enthusiasm. Throughout the night the bells of the City churches continued pealing, bonfires blazed in the streets, and despite the plague-stricken state of the capital the citizens gave themselves over to revelling.

The temper of Henrietta Maria very closely resembled that of Anne, and the traditions established in the previous reign were soon restored. The lighter elements of Society again gathered round the Court in the Strand, and there made merry as they had done in the past. Masques and pastorals were acted at frequent intervals, and no opportunity for entertainment was allowed to pass. In the December of 1625 we read that "the Court removes on

¹ *Memoires of the Life and Death of that matchless mirrour of magnanimity and heroick virtues Henrietta Maria de Bourbon*, 1671.

² Dr. Meddus to Rev. Joseph Mead, June 28, 1625.

Tuesday next and keeps the end of Christmas at Whitehall. The Queen however intends to act her pastoral at Denmark House." This pastoral, a French masque, was produced under the direction of Inigo Jones, and was played by Henrietta Maria and her demoiselles. Jones's designs for some of the dresses worn on this occasion and a drawing of one of the scenes employed are preserved at Chatsworth. The performance took place in the apartment at Somerset House known as the Great Chamber.

In 1631 the Queen acted at Whitehall in Ben Jonson's "Chloridia," and on the King's birthday in 1633 she took part in the production of "The Shepherd's Paradise," a pastoral written by Walter Montague, her lord almoner. This piece is ridiculed by Sir John Suckling in his *Session of the Poets* as being quite unintelligible—

"Wat Montague now stood forth for his trial
And did not so much as suspect a denial ;
But witty Apollo asked him first of all
If he understood his own pastorall."

The performance took place in the lower courtyard at Somerset House on the 10th of January, and lasted seven or eight hours.¹ Her Majesty was pleased to act a part as well for her recreation as for the exercise of her English. Rehearsals had been in progress more than three months, and the occasion was evidently of unique social interest. Invitations were issued indiscriminately, and to ensure a gathering of persons of quality my Lord Chamberlain declared that "no chambermaid shall enter unless she will sit cross-legged on the top of a bulk. No great lady shall be kept out, though she have but mean apparel and a worse face, and no inferior lady or woman shall be let in but such as have extreme brave apparel and better faces."²

¹ Mr. Beaulieu to Sir T. Puckering, January 10, 1633.

² Mr. Pory to Sir T. Puckering, January 3, 1633.

About the time of this representation William Prynne issued his notorious attack on women actors—*Histriomastix, the Players' Scourge*—and suffered for his temerity by the loss of his ears. It is still a moot point whether this work saw the light before or after the Queen's performance at Somerset House. According to Whitelocke, it was brought out six weeks before, and was not directed against the Queen and her pastoral at all. Prynne was falsely convicted because Laud and others who had been annoyed by his earlier writings directed against Arminianism informed the King that an allusion in the *Histriomastix* was aimed at the Queen. The offensive passage, after showing that St. Paul forbade women to speak in church, continued, “and dares then any christian woman be so more than whorishly impudent, as to act, to speak publicly on a stage (perchance in men's apparel and cut hair) in the presence of sundry men and women”? Whitelocke's view of the case is borne out by the postscript to “A Divine Tragedie lately acted ; or a collection of sundry memorable examples of God's judgments upon Sabbath breakers &c. dated Anno 1636.” The author of this pamphlet after referring to Prynne's punishment asserts that *Histriomastix* was written four years, licensed almost three, printed off fully a quarter of a year, and published six weeks before the Queen's pastoral, against which it was falsely voiced to have been principally written.

But there is a further commentary on the subject in a contemporary letter (January 28, 1633) preserved among the Harleian MSS. at the British Museum. After mentioning the issue of the book and the impending trial of Prynne, the writer concludes : “It is observable that his book was published the next day after the Queen's pastorall at Somerset House.” This testimony has a good presumptive title to credence. It is well known that the Queen was a great patron of the stage, and that as such she attracted

contemporary criticism. In view of these facts and of Prynne's subsequent confessions, there can hardly be any doubt that the book was, to some extent, directed against her. It may well have been prepared during the rehearsals of the play at Somerset House and its publication, timed to take place on the day following the performance, when the subject would naturally bulk largest in the popular mind. But even if it could be established that the book was anterior to this particular play, the conclusion that it was aimed at the Queen would not be affected ; for, as we have seen, Henrietta Maria took part in a masque as early as 1625. In any case Prynne lost his ears, and the Queen was so little affected by his attack that when the members of the Inns of Court presented a play in protest against the *Histriomastix*, she danced with some of the masquers. That her own life at this time was pure we have the testimony of her confessor ; but she was frivolous and without any appreciation of real merit, and frequently used her influence with Charles to obtain favours for courtiers unworthy of consideration.

In the manuscript of Sir Henry Herbert, at this time licenser of plays, we read that "On Monday night the 6th of January 1634 and the Twelfth Night, was presented at Denmark House before the King and Queene, Fletcher's pastorall called 'the Faithful Shepheardesse,' in the clothes the Queene had given Taylor (a famous actor) the year before of her own pastorall. The scenes were fitted to the pastorall and made by Mr. Inigo Jones, in the Great Chamber." And as late as 1636 the Queen herself appeared on the same stage in Thomas Heywood's play, "Love's Mistress ; or the Queen's Masque." This play was three times presented before both their Majesties within the space of eight days in the presence of several foreign ambassadors. "When the play came the second time to the Royal view," the author tells us, "her gracious Majesty

then entertaining his highness at Denmark House upon his birthday, Mr. Inigo Jones gave an extraordinary lustre to every act, nay almost to every scene, by his excellent inventions ; upon every occasion changing the stage to the admiration of all the spectators." The evening's entertainment did not usually end with the masque ; other less innocent gaieties followed, as we learn from a newsletter describing festivities at Denmark House about this time : "I had almost forgotten to tell that on the dicing night the King carried away in James Palmer's hat £1,850. The Queen was his half and brought him that luck ; she shared presently £900."¹ Which is a pretty sidelight on the life of Henrietta Maria's Court.

In February of 1626 Denmark House, with twenty-four tenements adjoining, had been granted to Queen Henrietta Maria for her life, with a stipulation that "the king will grant to her all the ornaments and household stuff therein remaining so soon as an inventory thereof can be made."² Evidently on the young Queen's arrival the property was again in need of amelioration, for in June, 1626, we find a warrant to pay Richard Browne, underkeeper of Denmark House, "such money as shall appear by bills subscribed by Viscount Purbeck, Keeper of that House, to be due for wages and works to be done in the gardens there."

Not long afterwards other improvements were effected in the neighbourhood : "For divers years of late certain fishmongers have erected and set up fishstalls in the middle of the street in the Strand, almost over against Denmark House, all of which were broken down by speciaill commission this month of May, 1630, lest in short space they might grow from stalles to sheddes and then to dwelling houses, as the like was in former time in Old Fish Street and in St. Nicholas Shambles and in other places."

¹ Mr. Garrard to Earl Strafford, January 9, 1633.

² See Rymer's *Fædera*, tom. xviii.

"There are three royal residences in London," says another writer of the time; "the principal and usual abode of the King, the Queen, and the whole Court is called Whitehall; the second is called St. James's; the third bears the name of Somerset House, which belongs particularly to the Queen, and is the finest palace in all England."

A newsletter of the 16th of March, 1627, describes how "the Queen rowed to Blackwall (from Somerset House) and dined on board the Earl of Warwick's fair ship called '*the Neptune*.' It pleased the Queen then to pass over to her Greenwich Palace. From there she rode on horseback to her palace of Somerset House, the Earl of Warwick and forty or fifty gentlemen riding before her Majesty with their heads uncovered,—all but her four priests, who wore their black caps. The Queen herself was masked as were her ladies; they all wore little black beaver riding-hats, but her Majesty was distinguished from her attendants by the addition of a fair white feather in her hat."

Of another incident in the Queen's life at Somerset House Marshal Bassompierre, the French ambassador, tells in his journal for the 9th of November, 1627. "I came," he writes, "in the morning to Somerset House to meet the Queen, who had arrived there to see the Lord Mayor go on the Thames with a magnificent display of boats. There the Queen dined, and afterwards got into her coach and placed me at the same door with her.¹ The Duke of Buckingham, by the Queen's command, likewise got into her coach, and we went into a street called *Shipside* to see the ceremony which is the greatest made for the reception of any officer in the world. While waiting for the lord Mayor to pass the Queen played at *primero* with the Duke, the Earl of Dorset

¹ The royal carriages of this period were huge and gaudily decorated. They accommodated eight inside passengers, two of whom were perched in niches, called boots, at each door, places usually reserved for some favoured guest of the King or Queen.

and me." Nothing could be more suggestive of the importance of the Lord Mayor of those days than this spectacle of the Queen of the realm patiently awaiting his coming in Cheapside. The Parisians of our own day do not hold him in greater exaltation.

We catch a glimpse of the Queen's character and that of her Court in one of those trivial events which persist when many of importance escape record. A letter of the 18th of June, 1627, observes : "Little Geffrey, the Queen's dwarf, fell last day out of the window at Denmark House ; the Queen took it so heavily that she attired not herself that day." Here at once we experience the thrill of vitality, touch the authentic atmosphere of Henrietta Maria's life. The fantastic taste which gratified itself in the fondling of quaint and often repulsive human freaks, monkeys, and dwarfs proved attractive to the genius of Velasquez, as is shown by his representations of scenes in the Spanish Court of this time ; and Henrietta Maria, whom Charles did marry, was evidently bred amid the same picturesque vanities as the Infanta whom he did not. There is, however, a special interest attaching to the dwarf, Little Geffrey, here referred to. Readers of Scott's *Peveril of the Peak* will recollect that one of the most fascinating figures in that romance is the dwarf, Geoffrey Hudson, undoubtedly identified with "Little Geffrey," who in the summer of 1627 cast a gloom over the Queen's Court by mischievously falling out of a window at Denmark House. At this time the dwarf could not have been more than ten years old, and had only been a few months in the Queen's service. He was not eighteen inches in height, but is described by Fuller as being "without any deformity, wholly proportionable." His introduction to the Court took place at a dinner given by the Duke of Buckingham at his seat in Rutland. Little Geffrey was brought to the table concealed in a pie, out of which he crept to the amazement and delight of the com-

pany. The Queen was greatly amused by his sprightliness, and from that day he joined her retinue. So began the career of adventure which led him throughout Europe. His home, however, remained at Henrietta Maria's Court, and his association with Somerset House did not end till the time of the Popish Plot, when he was suspected of complicity and imprisoned.¹ The Queen possessed other dwarfs scarcely less remarkable than Hudson. Richard Gibson, the famous miniature painter, and his wife had a stature of only 3 feet 9 inches each, and both were for many years attached to the Court at Denmark House. They were married there in presence of both King and Queen, the King giving the bride away. It is not difficult to imagine the interest which would be aroused by such an event among the curious, gossiping satellites of the Court. Indeed, there is abundant evidence that the Queen's drawing-room was most frequented by the thoughtless and the gay : poets sang her praises, and wits and gallants vied with each other in the empty tribute of their attentions. Of the poets, Edmund Waller figures prominently, and concerning him Aubrey relates the following trivial yet amusing incident : "He was but a tender, weak body, but was always very temperate—made him damnably drunk at Somerset House, where at the water stairs he fell down and had a cruel fall ; 'twas pity to use such a sweet swan so inhumanly." The royal apartments were open daily at certain hours to persons of note or quality, and many availed themselves of the opportunity to make the Court a permanent rendezvous. This arrangement was not without advantage to the Queen, who was thus enabled to choose what friends she pleased, and to be sure of missing no particular of the scandalous affairs of her time. The King himself was not infrequently

¹ A portrait of Geffrey Hudson, by Mytens, is to be seen at Hampton Court. Another, by Vandyck, is preserved at Petworth.

present, and occasionally his visits were prolonged through several days. When Prince William of Nassau, son of the Prince of Orange, came to England to woo the Princess Mary, Charles's eldest daughter, he was received at Somerset House, and both King and Queen remained in residence there to entertain him. This was in 1641, not long before the outbreak of the Civil War, and it may well have been Charles's last appearance at the Palace.

The earlier years of the Queen's life in England were rendered unhappy by differences which arose between her and the King on the subject of their marriage treaty. Unquestionably Charles was fond of her, and there is reason to believe that she would at once have reciprocated his affection except for the machinations of Buckingham. Unprincipled, but possessed of personal charm, this nobleman was mainly responsible for many acts of folly committed by both King and Queen. It had been agreed in the articles of marriage that Henrietta should choose servants of her own nation and faith, and should in particular have a certain number of priests as household chaplains, and a Bishop to exercise jurisdiction in matters pertaining to the Roman Church. The full household numbered 450, and cost the country £240 a day. Buckingham evidently determined to make these foreigners odious in the eyes of the King, and, at the same time, to ingratiate himself with the Queen by secretly abetting their obnoxious behaviour. When the French Government attempted to employ against the Huguenots of Rochelle some English ships sent to Dieppe ostensibly to oppose the Genoese, it was with the connivance of Buckingham, who thus sought to please the Queen. When, on the other hand, the King decided to expel the Queen's French household from the country, it was likewise at the instigation of Buckingham, who, having quarrelled with Richelieu, now desired nothing better than a war with France. And for some time this opportunist played his cards so skilfully that

neither King nor Queen doubted his honesty of purpose. Thus, in connection with the Rochelle incident, he represented to Charles that the staff at Somerset House was largely to blame for the conduct of the French Government, to which, he alleged, they "spread reports and did other ill offices." No doubt the Queen's French attendants and advisers often comported themselves with irritating insolence, and never lost an opportunity to disparage English institutions. But Henrietta was herself a zealous champion of France, and it is not surprising that, under the evil influence of Buckingham, she should have failed to exercise the discretion which circumstances required of her.

The discord reached its climax in 1626, little more than a year after the Queen's arrival in the country. Though repeatedly warned to limit their ministrations to the members of the French colony in London, the priests of Her Majesty's household continued a vexatious campaign against the Established Church, gaining many converts, and attracting to the Queen's oratory at Somerset House a throng of worshippers so large that they petitioned the King to build them a new chapel for their better accommodation. Charles's response is a sufficient proof of how deeply he had been offended. He thought that "if the Queen's closet, where they now say mass, were not large enough, they might have it in the great chamber ; and if the great chamber were not wide enough, they might use the garden ; and if the garden would not serve their turn, then the park was the fittest place." The immediate cause of the King's active resentment was an outrageous penance imposed upon the Queen by her father confessor. One rainy day, at the bidding of this unnatural cleric, who rode by her side in his coach, she walked to Tyburn, where so many Catholics had been executed, and uttered over their common grave an intercession for the souls of the martyrs.¹ Buckingham conveyed

¹ *Memoires of Henrietta Maria*, 1671.

to the King an exaggerated account of this bizarre procession, and Charles forthwith resolved to break the marriage treaty by dismissing the army of servants and priests whose employment it had been specially framed to secure. A letter was sent to the French King announcing the step which it was proposed to take, and justifying it by a recital of the circumstances. Then, "on Monday (June 26, 1626), about 3 in the afternoon, the King, passing into the Queen's side (of Whitehall) and finding some Frenchmen, her servants, unreverently curveting and dancing in her presence, took her by the hand and led her into his lodgings, locking the door after him, and shutting out all save only the Queen : presently upon this, my lord Conway called forth the French bishop and others of that clergy into St. James's Park, where he told them the King's pleasure was all her Majesty's servants of that nation, men and women, young and old, should depart the Kingdom. . . . The King's message being thus delivered by my lord Conway, his lordship, accompanied with Mr. Treasurer and Mr. Comptroller, went into the Queen's lodgings and told all the French likewise that were there that his Majesty's pleasure was they should all depart thence to Somerset House and remain there till they knew his Majesty's pleasure. The women howled and lamented as if they had been going to execution, but all in vain : for the Yeomen of the Guard thrust them and all their country folks out of the Queen's lodgings and locked the doors after them. It is said also that the Queen, when she understood the design, grew very impatient, and broke the glass windows with her fist. But since, I hear, her rage is appeased, and the King and she, since they went together to Nonsuch, have been very jocund together."¹

Next day Lord Conway visited Somerset House and told the angry crowd they must leave for France. They refused to obey, however, and clung to England as their right.

¹ Mr. Pory to the Rev. Joseph Mead, Saturday, July 1, 1626.

About the 12th of July the King went to Somerset House in person, attended by Buckingham, Holland, and Carlisle, and addressed the French household in a set speech.

"Gentlemen and ladies," he said, "I am driven to that extremity as I am personally come to acquaint you that I very earnestly desire your return into France. True it is the deportment of some amongst you hath been very inoffensive to me; but others again have so dallied with my patience and so highly affronted me as I cannot, I will not any longer endure it."

Undaunted by Charles's firmness, the young Bishop of Mende, who had been the greatest offender, retorted defiance. "Sir," he exclaimed, "if this accrimination be levelled against me, let me, I beseech you, know my fault while I am here to make my defence"; and Madame St. George, the Queen's favourite, thus pertly addressed him: "Sir, I make no question but the Queen will give me a fair testimonial to your Majesty."¹ But Charles turned from them with the remark: "I name none, but I tell you my resolution." As soon as the Queen heard of the proceedings she fell into a high passion and upbraided His Majesty with the utmost disaffection for her. He tried all the most kind and tender ways to pacify her; but when these gentler methods had failed "he roundly bid her be satisfied, for it must be so." Under various pretexts the servants and priests continued in occupation of Somerset House, possessing themselves of the Queen's clothes, jewels, and other belongings, and, it is said, leaving her without even a change of linen. With difficulty they were persuaded to surrender an old satin gown for Her Majesty's immediate use. They asserted that she was immensely in debt to them for purchases which she afterwards confessed to the King were entirely fictitious. They claimed £4,000 for necessaries supplied to

¹ *Memoires of Henrietta Maria, 1671.*

the Queen, £800 for moneys owing to an apothecary, and £1,500 for holy water used by the bishop.

The dispute dragged on throughout July. The King had already distributed among the servants assembled at Somerset House £11,000 in money and £20,000 in jewels, in recognition of services rendered, and now wearied of their impudence. A proclamation was read at the Court gate at Whitehall, ordering that all French people, of what condition, state, quality or dignity soever, should depart the Court to Denmark House, there to remain till order should be taken for transporting them into France ; and after explaining to the Queen that her whole household must be cashiered, Charles wrote as follows to Buckingham :—

“STEENIE,—I have received your letter by Dick Græme. This is my answer. I command you to send all the French away to-morrow out of the Town—if you can by fair means, but stick not long in disputing : otherwise force them away, driving them away like so many wild beasts, until you have shipped them, and so the devil go with them. Let me hear of no answer but of the performance of my command.

“So I rest your faithful, constant loving friend,

“Oaking, on the 7th of August 1626.

C. R.”

The tone of this message and the continued persistence of the French at Somerset House suggest that Buckingham had been temporising again. But although no reply to the intimation of the impending banishment had as yet been received from France, Charles was resolved that the treaty should be broken, and Buckingham at length gave way. On the 8th August a numerous collection of coaches, carts, and barges was in waiting at Somerset House ; but the French contumaciously refused to go. News of this being sent to the King he dispatched the Captain of the Guard with a

posse of yeomen to execute his will. These reached London next morning, and the heralds and trumpeters having proclaimed his Majesty's pleasure at the gates of the palace, the yeomen stepped forward to carry out the order that if the French continued refractory they should all be thrust out, "head and shoulders." This extremity was not resorted to, the mere appearance of the Beefeaters proving a sufficient inducement for the last hysterical recalcitrant to depart. "The time being come my lord Conway, Mr. Treasurer, and Mr. Comptroller went to see them perform their promise, and brought the bishop out of the gate to the boot of his coach ; where he, making a stand, told them he had one favour more to crave at their hands, namely, that they would permit him to stay till the midnight tide, to the end that he might go away private and cool, which was not denied him."¹

A great mob had gathered in the vicinity to enjoy the proceedings ; and when the beautiful Madame St. George appeared, gesticulating wildly and pouring forth a torrent of eloquence on the atrocity of tearing her from the Queen, a bystander threw a large stone and knocked off her cap. An English noble who stood near instantly avenged the insult by running the man through the body with his sword. In forty coaches, after four days' travelling, the dismal company reached Dover, and sailed thence for the land of their birth with all the pangs of an involuntary exile.

The King now sent Lord Carleton to the French Court to explain his action and to prevent its being misconstrued, but Louis denied audience to the ambassador, and, to give point to his resentment, seized 120 English ships which were then in the French ports. Charles thereupon formally declared war against France, and Buckingham soon afterwards led his ill-organised and futile expedition against the Ile de Rhé.

¹ Mr. Pory to Rev. Joseph Mead, August 11, 1626.

The banishment of the French servants and the absence of Buckingham produced an immediate improvement in the relations between Charles and his Queen. But on Buckingham's return in October, 1627, marital strife was stirred up anew. Henrietta resumed her aggressive policy in religious matters, and her bickerings with the King grew more frequent and more embittered. Matters quickly came to such a pass that the French Ambassador, the Marshal Bassompierre, intervened as mediator. At first his efforts seem to have been successful. Early in November, 1627, he writes, in a letter to his Government : " You will now find that the satisfaction is complete and that the Queen, his Majesty's sister, rests infinitely obliged with what I have done for her ; and deeming herself content and happy she lives now with the King in perfect amity. First she has re-established—and this for her conscience—a bishop and ten priests (Capuchins), a confessor and his coadjutor, and ten musicians for her Chapel ; that at St. James's is to be finished, and another is to be built for her at Somerset House at the expense of the King her husband. In attendance on her person she will have, *of her own nation*, two ladies of the bedchamber, three bedchamber women, one *lingère*, and a clear-starcher. In regard to her health, two physicians, an apothecary, and a surgeon. For her house, a grand chamberlain, a squire as secretary, a gentleman usher of the privy chamber, one of the chamber of presence, a valet of the privy chamber, and a baxter-groom (*i.e.*, a baker). All her officers of the mouth and the goblet are to be French."

Bassompierre may well be excused for believing that he had secured the contentment of the Queen, having within so short a time of the expulsion of her French servants and priests obtained others of the same nationality in their places. But Buckingham was still alive, and Henrietta was not satisfied. Though her present establishment appears

large enough and sufficiently French in character, it is insignificant when compared with that which preceded it. Then, as we have seen, the household numbered 450 French subjects; now Henrietta sighed for the lost 400. She began to pick quarrels with the King and to make herself generally disagreeable. The disillusionised Bassompierre, out of patience at seeing her play the vixen after so much consideration had been shown to her, spoke his views on the subject of her behaviour with a commendable frankness, and noted the occasion in his diary : “November 12, 1627.—Came to the Queen’s (Somerset House), where the King came, who fell out with one another, and I afterwards with the Queen on this account. I told her plainly that I should next day take leave of King Charles and return to France, leaving the business unfinished, and should tell his Majesty (Louis XIII.), her brother, and the Queen, her mother, that it was all her fault.” This determined step, coming at a time when Buckingham was nearing his doom, seems to have had the desired effect. It secured the Queen nearly eighteen years of conjugal happiness, and for the King the reward of his own passionate devotion.

But though at last content in her married life Henrietta Maria never abated her zeal in promoting the cause of Roman Catholicism. The first Sunday after her arrival in London was distinguished by an open attendance at mass : “Last Sunday,” ran the contemporary newsletter, “the Queen and hers (the King inhibiting English ladies to attend her Majesty) were at High Mass (it being their St. Peter’s day) at Denmark House, with the Duke of Chevreuse and his Duchess, when the Queen’s lord Chamberlain was made Knight of the French order of the Holy Ghost, and was afterwards there feasted.”¹ We have already seen how trouble arose through the intemperate self-assertion of the

¹ Dr. Medras to Rev. Joseph Mead, June, 1625.

Bishop of Mende and his subordinate priests ; and though the progress of Romanism was checked by the banishment of those intriguing ecclesiastics, it was soon resumed under the tireless patronage of the Queen. By the year 1629 matters had become so aggravated and so distasteful to the bulk of the people that the King was compelled to forbid all but members of the Queen's household to attend mass in her chapel.

It was not long, however, before she wheedled her too indulgent husband into permitting an increase of her ecclesiastical establishment to "29 priests, and 15 seculars, besides a bishop, a young man under 30 years old." These additional members came over from France in February, 1630, and were received in audience by both King and Queen. Lodgings were assigned them with all the friars in a house which the Queen had bought quite close to her palace of Somerset House which her truly Christian and royal liberality had furnished with everything necessary for their condition, adding a garden to it and enclosing it with a strong wall.¹ They received orders to make all necessary preparations for public service in the chapel, and for preaching on the Sunday following, which was the third Sunday in Lent. The news of the coming service quickly spread over the city and drew an innumerable multitude of people of both sexes and faiths to the chapel. The King in Council had previously forbidden all English Catholics to be present, and soon many were imprisoned for their disobedience.

The newcomers were by no means careful to test the temper of the Protestant Parliament : they proceeded at once to extremes. A newsletter of the 13th of March, 1630,

¹ The building here referred to was adjacent to the palace on the west, between it and Somerset Yard. The garden ran down to the river. Both are clearly shown in the picture by Knyff. (1720), p. 170, but were doubtless much altered in the renovation of 1660-65.

tells that "on Sunday was sennight one of the Queen's Capuchins preached before Her Majesty at Somerset House concerning vows and the observations of Lent ; and that whosoever did eat flesh in that holy time without license or dispensation was *ipso facto* damned."¹ For a time, however, the excitement of their activities was confined to a circumscribed area, the King being determined to execute his obligations to the country. Indeed "my lord of Dorchester delivered to the Lords sitting at the Council board that it was his Majesty's pleasure none of his subjects should go any more to mass in the Queen's chapel ; which that it may be effectually performed his Majesty hath appointed two of the Queen's gentlemen ushers, Sir John Tonstall to stand at the gate and Mr. Steward at the chapel door to divert all saving Frenchmen. My lord of Dorset, her Majesty's lord chamberlain, highly approving this gracious message from his Majesty, said he would act his part therein to the full ; and if any should grow stubborn would have them turned out per force and exposed to the Law."² But Charles was unreasonably feeble in opposing those whom he trusted, and the Queen especially was stinted nothing to gratify her desires.

Up to this time the building used for divine service at Somerset House is described by Father Cyprien de Gamache as "a spacious room fitted up in the form of a chapel."³ It was a makeshift, and not at all to the taste of the Queen. From the first she had contemplated erecting a church in keeping with her extravagant ideas, and at length, having by her "zeal and address" won the consent of the King, she set her scheme on foot.

"On the day of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, which

¹ Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

² Ibid., March 20, 1630.

³ *Memoirs of Père Cyprien de Gamache* (for complete translation see *Court and Times of Charles I.*).

"was the 14th of September," says Gamache, "the piety of the Queen planted the cross upon the mount of Somerset House, the first place from which heresy had hurled it at the time when the religion was changed in this unhappy Kingdom. A plot of ground on which the chapel was to stand was very tastefully fitted up in the form of a Church ; rich tapestry served for walls ; the most costly stuffs for roof ; the floor was strewed with flowers which diffused an agreeable odour. At the further end was seen an altar garnished with magnificent ornaments, with large chandeliers of silver gilt, and with a great number of vases, the costliness and workmanship of which rendered them worthy of being compared with those of Solomon's Temple. The Queen knelt upon a cushion of crimson velvet under her dais, attended by the Marquis Fontenay Mareuil, ambassador of the King of France, and by a great number of other Catholic gentlemen and ladies. M. du Peron, her grand almoner, performed high mass with solemnity and granted some indulgences, while harmonious music ravished the heart. The concourse of people was so great that it seemed as if all the inhabitants of London had consented to attend this noble ceremony.¹ Mass being finished, Her Majesty was conducted by the ambassador to the place where she was to lay the first stone which she touched with her royal hand ; and then laying hold of a trowel, the handle of which was covered with fine fringed velvet, respectfully presented to her by the intendant of her buildings, and taking mortar from a large, glittering basin of silver gilt, with a grace which imparted devotion to the people, she threw it at three times upon the stone in which was engraved a large silver plate with this inscription :—

*"Henrica Maria, Henrici IIII Gallorum regis filia,
Caroli I Magnæ Britanniæ Regis conjux, Ludovici XIII in
Gallia regnantis, et Philippi IIII Hispaniarum Regis soror,*

¹ A contemporary newsletter says there were "2,000 people at least."

Templum hoc singulare pietatis monumentum ad Dei optimi maximi gloriam sicut Religionis Catholice exercitum, R. R. P. P. Capucinorum provinciae Parisiensis (quos in suum peculiare obsequium vocare dignata est) ad usum est Catholiconum commodum sub felicibus Beatissimae virginis marie auspiciis evexit, et primum ejus lapidem Jacobi Peronii magni sui Eleemosinarii benedictione consecratum, sua manu Regia posuit, die 24 Septembris anno 1632."

The chapel was built over a site hitherto occupied by "the Tennys Courte and tenementes adjoining to Denmarke House." These were converted into "a chappell, vestry, and other roomes for the use and service of our dearest Consort the Queene and a brickwall made to enclose the same with a passage and a staire from the privy lodgings into a clozett." Among the Pipe Office declared accounts of this period are found particulars of the various payments made in connection with the construction and furnishing of the chapel. At the outset allowance is made of the "money yssued and payd within the tyme of this accompte to sondry masons, carpenters, bricklayers, plumbers, and other artificers, woorkmen and laborers ymployed in taking downe the roofe and walles of the Tennys Courte in the Basecourt at Somersett Howse alias Denmarke Howse, new building a chappell of brickes and stone there, ciiij foote longe, xxxvj, foote broode, and l*j* foote high to the tope of the roofe with twoe outlettes for staires and little chapelles, xij foote one way and xxxvj foote the other way, with a vestry howse and a clozett upon pillars of Portland stone, the walles of bricke and the whole chappell strongly vaulted underneath with peeres of sixe brickes thicke, the walles up to the crowne of the vaulte being on the east side iiiij foote thicke and on the west side five foote, the rest of the walles above of fower brickes, iij brickes di and two brickes di in thickness, and the particion walles there at one bricke di in thickness, the walles fynished

with fynishing morter, the wyndowes and mouldings of Portland stone carved. The coynes facid and doores all of Purbecke stone ; the ceilinges of the chappell and clozett wyndowes richly carved, painted and guilded ; the floare paved with blacke and white marble, and the roofe covered with lead, ffor performance whereof divers Provicions and Empcions have beene made and provided. The particulars whereof with their quantities rates and prices, as alsoe the charges of carriadge, both by land and water, wages of artificers, woorkmen and others ymploied therein, taske-woorke and other charges are expressed in manner and forme following." Amongst the several items we find :—

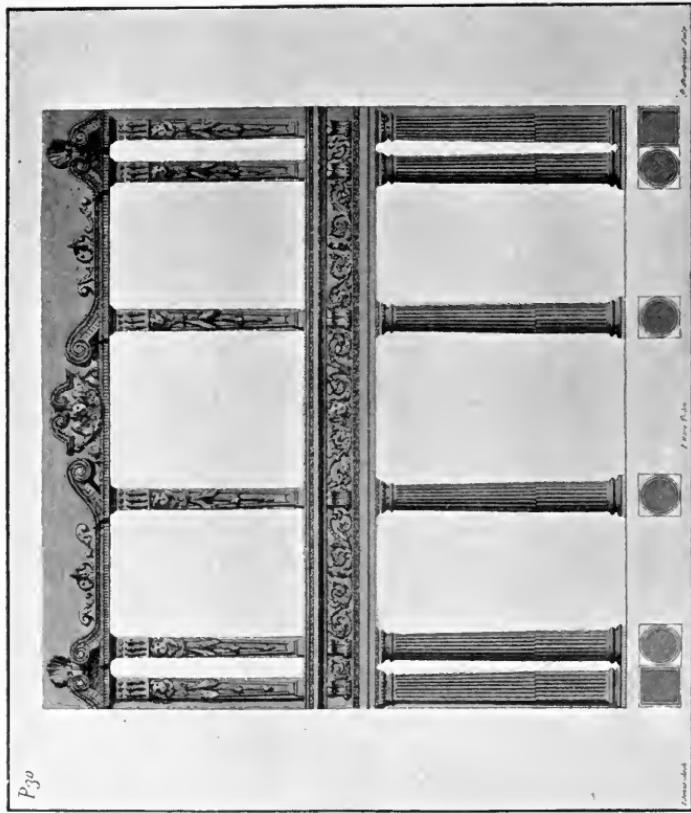
"A trowel with a velvet handle for the Queen Majesty to lay the first stone, 4/-."

"Rushes to strew the chappell 2/6."

There are also accounts in connection with eight great windows of Portland stone with their mouldings and cornices, and ten pillars and pilasters of the like stone with their bases and capitals ; of payments to Hugh Justice, his Majesty's Sergeant Plumber, for covering the roof of the new chappell with sheet lead, and to John Hooke for turning nine great balls. Reference is also made to the ceiling of the Music Room ; to the room over the stairs going up to the Queen's closet ; to work done to the floors and roofs of the Friars' lodgings ; to the making of seven altars ; and to a new brick wall to enclose the Friars' lodgings and a place for a garden.

Little information exists as to the design of the exterior of this chapel. It adjoined the palace on the east and the friary on the south, and its outer walls, abutting on Somerset Yard, probably did not display much correspondence with the splendour of its interior. This view is borne out by a builder's detail given in *The Principles of Ancient Masonry*, which suggests that the façades in Somerset Yard were simple in character, but gives no adequate picture





CHANCEL SCREEN.
From a print in the British Museum, issued by Isaac Ware, 1757.
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of them. Seymour, in his *Survey of London*, published in 1735, says that at that date the most remarkable part of the palace was the chapel, built by Inigo Jones, wherein the Doric order was enriched in the most extravagant manner. Of the interior, however, two drawings have been preserved.¹ One shows the chancel screen, the other the reredos. The former comprises two tiers: First tier, Doric fluted columns and pilasters, in the frieze of the entablature a head centrical, scrolls, high-wrought foliage, &c.; second tier, terms, with cherubims' heads, drapery, &c., the terms raised over the above columns and pilasters and carrying a cornice composed of scroll-work, a cherub's head, scallop shells and foliage. The altar screen or reredos: On each side of the altar double detached Ionic fluted columns placed on pedestals, between the pedestals, and, of the same height as the pedestals, the altar table; in the space above the table a large rectangular frame (receptacle for the painting by Rubens referred to at page 123). On each side of the above centrical decorations doorways, and over the doorways niches with statues of St. Peter and St. Paul. To central frame and heads of niches festoons of fruits and flowers. The frieze in the entablature ornamented with olive leaves; above the entablature, dwarf pilasters supporting a circular pediment; in the centre, and on each side of the pilasters, compartments or frames for paintings; in the tympanum of the pediment a guideron shield supporting a crown, with festoons of fruits and flowers. At the rise of the pediment, right and left, vases with flames. Circular frames for paintings, their heads embellished with fruit and flowers, flank the vases.

The chapel, though not large, was evidently furnished in harmony with the ornate ritual of the Roman Church. In April, 1635, Sir Richard Wynne, the Queen's treasurer,

¹ See *Designs by Inigo Jones and others*, published by Isaac Ware in 1757.

received payment of "a sum of £4,000, being the whole charge of the chapel at Somerset House";¹ but two years later a further payment of £1,050 was made in settlement "of all charges of works due about the chapel of Denmark House, certified by Inigo Jones, Surveyor of the King's Works, to amount to that sum over and above the first estimate."² This total cost of £5,050 in the reign of Charles would represent at least £20,000 to-day.

During the erection of the building the Queen was unremitting in her support of Romanism; and when at length all was ready the inaugural ceremony excited such interest that, according to Gamache, "persons of quality, ministers, people of all conditions who had never been out of the Kingdom came to see them (the Capuchins) as one goes to see Indians, Malays, Savages, and men from the extremities of the earth."

In order to give more glory to God and greater esteem for the Catholic religion to the Huguenots the Queen resolved that the first mass in the new chapel should be celebrated with all pomp and magnificence. A sculptor, François Dieussart, was called in, and, says Gamache, "he complied with a very good grace, and made a machine which was admired even by the most ingenious persons, to exhibit the Holy Sacrament and to give it a more majestic appearance.

"It represented in oval a Paradise of glory about forty feet in height. To accommodate it to the hearing in the chapel a great arch was supported by two pillars towards the high altar at the distance of about eight Roman palms from

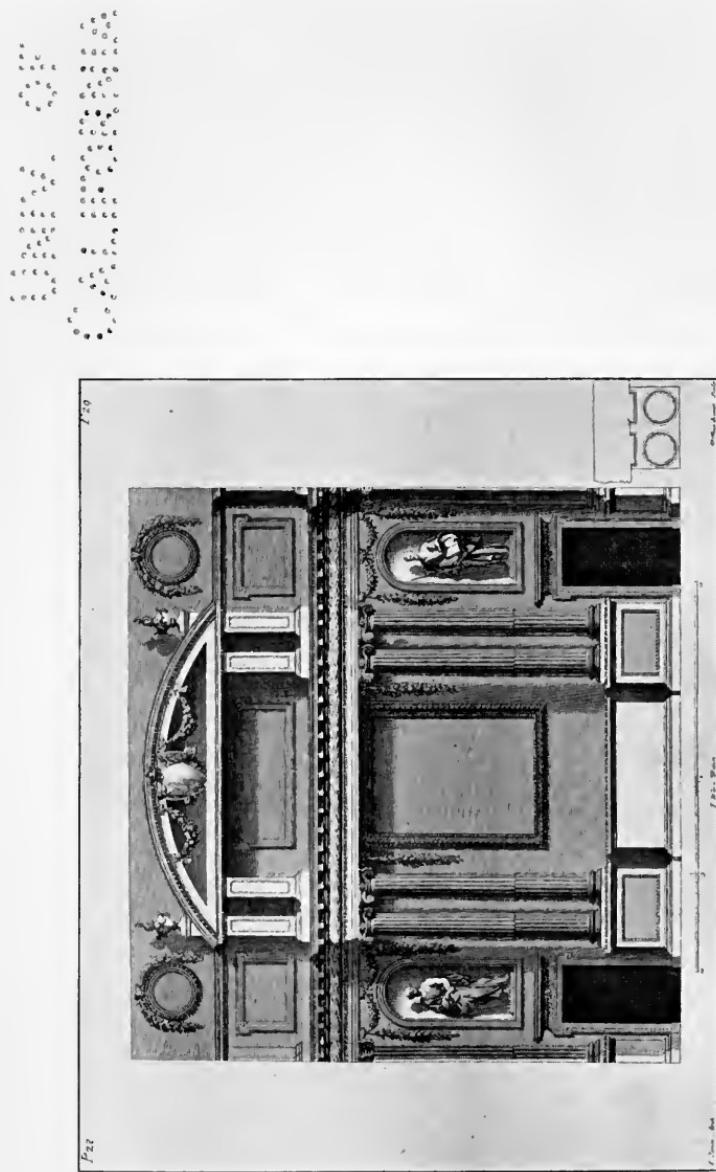
¹ *State Papers Domestic: Exchequer Accounts*, April 11, 1635.

² *State Papers Domestic*: April 3, 1637. It is, however, to be observed that *L'Histoire de L'Entrée de la Reyne Mère du Roy très Chrétien dans la Grande Bretagne* states that the cost of building the chapel was defrayed out of Henrietta Maria's privy purse. (The Queen Mother here referred to was Mary de Medicis, Queen Dowager of France, who visited Henrietta Maria at Somerset House in 1638.)

REBEDOS.

From a print in the British Museum, issued by Isaac Ware, 1757.

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the two side walls of the chapel. The spaces between the pillars and the walls served for passages to go from the sacristy to the altar. The choir of music was placed with the organ and the other instruments on either side over those vacant spaces. The pillars being planted and the arch erected, the opening was found to be twenty-six Roman palms in width and thirty-seven in height. Over each side appeared a prophet, with a text from his prophecy. Beneath the arch was placed outside the portable altar, ten palms in height. The ascent to it was by six steps, disposed in three orders ; the largest, which was in front with the balusters, left an unobstructed view of the altar to the persons present, and the others on the sides, in theatrical form, were also surrounded with balusters, in order that the priests wearing the ornaments might easily reach the altar without being pressed by the crowd of people. Behind the altar was seen a Paraclete, raised above seven ranges of clouds, in which were figures of archangels, of cherubim, of seraphim, to the number of two hundred, some adoring the Holy Sacrament, others singing and playing on all sorts of musical instruments, the whole painted and placed according to the rule of perspective. The Holy Sacrament formed the point of view, with hidden lights, but which kept increasing, so that the distance appeared very great and the number of figures double what they were, deceiving by an ingenious artifice not only the eye, but also the ear, all conceiving that, instead of the music, they heard the melody of the angels, singing and playing upon musical instruments.

"The first circle, in the form of an oval, was twenty-seven palms in height and eighteen or twenty wide, and so the other circles decreasing in proportion to the last, which was only six and ten palms in height and width. The first circle contained angels larger than life, sitting on clouds singing and playing on instruments ; in the fourth and fifth there were angels in the habits of deacons, some with censers,

others with incense boxes, some kneeling in the attitude of supplicants, others prostrate, pointing out the Holy Sacrament to their companions, all of them of a size proportioned to the distance. In the sixth and seventh circles were seen children with wings in various postures like so many little angels issuing from the clouds, playing together with gestures full of respect, some turned towards the centre, others showing the adorable Sacrament to the people, inviting them to rejoice and to adore it with them. In the eighth and ninth circles appeared cherubim and seraphim among the clouds, surrounded with luminous rays, with extraordinary skill. The place where the Holy Sacrament lay had a bottom of gold, and as for the lamp to the cloth covering the pyx it was a red oval with rays, the whole of which was so well contrived and appropriate and with such splendour that the painting seeming to vanish, there was left nothing but the brilliancy of the lights, which caused that place to appear all on fire. The number of the lights was about four hundred, besides the great multitude of tapers ingeniously arranged upon the altar, which lighted the first circles. All these things being thus disposed were covered with two curtains.

"It was the 10th of December, in the year 1636, that the Queen came with all her Court to hear mass. As soon as she had taken the place prepared for her, the curtains, being drawn back, all at once gave to view those wonders which excited admiration, joy, and adoration in Her Majesty and in all the Catholics. At the same time the music, composed of excellent voices, set up an anthem, the harmony of which, having no outlet but between the clouds and the figures of angels, it seemed as if the whole Paradise was full of music and as if the angels were themselves the musicians : those who sang being, in fact, concealed and not seen by anybody ; thus eye and ear found at the same time gratification in this contrivance of piety and skill.

The anthem being finished, the acolyte, subdeacons and deacons, and Monseigneur du Peron, then Bishop of Angoulême and grand almoner to the Queen, in the pontifical habits, came forth from the sacristy and ascended to the altar by eight steps and celebrated with the greatest solemnity the holy mass, which was sung in eight parts so melodiously that one must have had a heart of stone not to be moved by it. Tears of joy seemed to trickle from the eyes of the Queen, considering in this pious and striking ceremony the grace which God bestowed on her to erect a church where would thenceforth be celebrated all the divine services which heresy had banished from England. It was about one hundred years since mass had been pontifically celebrated ; a multitude of Catholics thronged to receive the Holy Communion from the hand of the bishop, who gave his benediction and indulgences to those present. After dinner Her Majesty again went to attend vespers, compline, and the sermon. The musicians, having perceived the satisfaction which the charming melody of their singing afforded the Queen, were animated to such a degree that they far surpassed what they had done in the morning. After vespers Monseigneur du Peron ascended the pulpit and delivered a very learned, very eloquent, and very pathetic sermon on this text of the Psalms : "This is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes." He dwelt with wonderful force upon the grace which God vouchsafed to the Queen to have a Catholic Church, with liberty to have the whole divine service performed there, after it had been abolished and forbidden for so many years in all England, Ireland, and Scotland. The sermon being finished with the satisfaction of the Queen, with the applause of the whole audience, which was very large, Her Majesty retired. Those who were in the chapel had great difficulty to leave it on account of the crowd of people who were bent on forcing their way in to see the magnificence displayed there. The

crush lasted so long that it was impossible to close the doors of the church till the third night, when the King gave orders that it should be cleared of strangers, for he was desirous to be himself a spectator of that magnificent representation. Accordingly he went thither and admired the composition for a very long time, and said aloud that he had never seen anything more beautiful or more ingeniously arranged.

“To satisfy the devotion of the Catholics and the curiosity of the Protestants, who never ceased coming in crowds from all parts to behold this wonder, the report of which had spread in all quarters, from the 8th of December, the day consecrated to the immaculate conception of the most Blessed Virgin, the Queen, with great prudence, ordered the chapel to be left with all its decorations till Christmas.

“This religious and brilliant ceremony was followed by exercises of piety, which Her Majesty’s Capuchins continued ever afterwards in her chapel. From six o’clock in the morning there were successively masses and, in general, communions, till noon. Not a day passed without bringing some penitents to the confessionals. On Sundays and festivals the throng was so great that one could not get in without great difficulty. Persons were obliged to wait two or three hours before they could enter a confessional. On those days a controversial lecture was held from one o’clock till two, immediately before vespers, which the Capuchins and the musicians, placed in two galleries opposite to each other, sang alternately. When vespers were finished the preacher mounted the pulpit and preached for the space of an hour or three-quarters on the gospel of the day, touching occasionally upon certain controversial points, to confirm the Catholics in their faith and to draw Huguenots thither. Compline was then sung. Then followed various conferences, some of piety with Catholics, others of religion with the Sectaries, who came eagerly to be instructed in our creed and to have their doubts resolved.

John C.
California

1

HIC IACET
 IACET
Doctor Blasius
 NVNES MANHANS
 LUZITANVS · MEDI-
 CVS · SERENISSIMÆ ·
 REGINÆ · MAGNÆ ·
 BRITANNIÆ · OBIIT
 DIE 21 JULII ANNO 1673
 REQVIESCAT IN PACE

2

CIS-GIS ENT-LES-ENTRAILLES DE-FEV-
 HAVLT- ET- PVSSANT SEIGNEVR
 MESSIERE · IACQVES-DANGENNES-
 CHEVALLIER MARQVIS DE POGNY,
 ET-DE-BOISORGANT-SEIGNEVR- DE
 LA RIVAVDIERE · LE-CHASTELIER
 ORSEMONT · MONTIGNY-ET AVTRS
 LIEVX CON-DESTAT- DV ROY
 TRES CHRESTIEN-ET-SON-AMBASS-
 ADEVVR · PRES-LE-SERENISSIME-ROY
 DE- LA-GRANDE-BRETAGNE-DECEDDE
 Á RYGATE-EN LE CONTE-DESVRREY
 LE- NEVFME- IOVR-DE- JANVIER 1673
 — STIL- NOVVEAU —
 · PRIEZ- DIEV-POVR SON-AME-

3

FR-HYACINTHE ·
 O BIIT DIE
 169½
 REQVIESCAT
 IN PACE

4

To the perpetvall memory of
 Edmvd Fortscve Esqyre
 GENTLEMAN-MERC PRIV-COUNCILLOR
 To Her Recent M^QVEENE Catherine
 and y^e like tollerlate M^Qveen Henrietta

The third sonne
 of Sir Nicolas Fortesve of Cookham
 Count of Woortester KN
 Whoe exchanged this life for immortality
 y^e 7th of May 1674 ·
 In the 69th yeare of his age

5

CI-GIST- LE-CORPS-DE-DEFVNCTE-
 CATHERINE GVILERMET- VIVANTE-
 FEMME-DE-JEHAN- BLUTEAU-
 · POTAGÉ - DE - LA REYNE - DE -
 LA GRANDE - BRETAGNE - LAQUELLE -
 · DECED DA - LEVJ MAY 1673 -
 PRIEZ- DIEV- POVR- SON-AME -

Tombstones REMOVED
 FROM THE PRIVATE CHAPEL
 OF OLD SOMERSET HOUSE



AND NOW BUILT INTO
 THE WALLS OF A PASSAGE
 UNDER THE QUADRANGLE

TOMBSTONES

Taken from the Chapel of old Somerset House, and built into the walls of a
 passage under the quadrangle of the present building.
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"The Christian doctrine was publicly taught in French and English on three different days in each week. Every Thursday there were expounded in French for the French all the symbols of the faith, the commandments of God and of the Church, the Sacrament, the Lord's Prayer, the way to confess and communicate properly, and to pass the day in a Christian manner ; and for the English the same things were taught in their language every Wednesday and Saturday."¹

Attached to the chapel at Somerset House was a small piece of ground, used as a cemetery wherein members of the Queen's Catholic household were buried. Father Richard Blount, who had at one time "reconciled" Anne of Denmark to the Roman Church, was interred here in 1638 by special permission of Henrietta Maria, and about the same time the remains of the eminent Italian Orazio Gentileschi, painter of a beautiful "Annunciation" preserved at Turin, were entombed under the high altar of the chapel. Père Gamache records how he obtained the Queen's permission for a gentleman who "desired so much to be buried in the Cemetery of the Queen's Chapel," and that in order to prevent disturbance the body was conveyed there in a covered carriage at night. How highly valued the permission was may be judged by the fact that, owing to the severity of the penal laws, Catholics were for the most part obliged to inter their dead in Protestant churchyards with rites which must have been exceedingly distasteful to them. It often happened that the priest attending a devout Catholic in his last illness was besought to bless a little mould which might be put with the corpse into the coffin in order that the deceased should not be denied the last benediction of his Church.

A sympathetic picture of the Roman Catholics of this period is to be found in *John Inglesant*. In a passage describing the hero's arrival at Somerset House, Mr. Short-house gives us in few words a clear view of the neighbour-

¹ *Memoirs of Père Cyprien de Gamache.*

hood : "They resumed their passage down the Strand, Father St. Clare remarking on the strange ideas a stranger would attach to the state of religion in England if he listened only to the opposing cries. All down the Strand the Jesuit pointed out the beautiful houses of the nobility and the glimpses of the river between them. They stopped at Somerset House, then a large, rambling series of buildings extending round several courts, with gardens and walks on the river banks and a handsome watergate leading to the river. They went to the lodging of Father Cory, the Queen's confessor, who was at home and received them hospitably. Johnny was so taken up with all the astounding sights around him, especially with the wonderful view up and down the river, with the innumerable boats and barges, the palaces and gardens and churches and steeples on the banks, that it was a day or two before he could think calmly on anything, and as there was only one other chapel in London (St. James's) where the sacraments might be openly approached, the confessionals were thronged, persons being obliged to wait two or three hours before they could enter."

The activities which were centred in the chapel excited the utmost interest throughout London. Conversions soon became numerous, and the growing influence of the Catholics again attracted the attention of the House of Commons. The Queen had already succeeded in securing official recognition for Gregorio Panzani, a special missioner from Rome, and Panzani was now succeeded by Con, a Scot by birth, who arrived fresh from Italy with a prodigious quantity of relics, medals, and other objects blessed by the Pope. He was soon engaged in proselytising the ladies of the Court, and in consequence of his assiduity the Queen found herself in collision with Archbishop Laud, who, however, effected little against her. The proclamation which Charles prepared at Laud's instance was so modified

by the Queen as to be rendered valueless, and she further arranged that at the Christmas festivities following the opening of the chapel all new converts to the Catholic faith should be marshalled to receive communion in a body at Somerset House for the purpose of emphasising their number. "You have now seen," she exclaimed triumphantly to Con as soon as the service was over, "what has become of the proclamation."

Laud nevertheless continued to protest against the bigotry of the Queen, and the ease with which she won the King's acquiescence in her proceedings. Indeed, the energy of the one and the passivity of the other combined to bring the papists into such prominence at Court as to be a constant menace to the cause of English Protestantism. Laud, at the Council table, had the courage to use what he himself in his diary calls "free speech to the King," concerning the increasing power of the Roman party, the freedom of Denmark House, and the carriage of Mr. Walter Montague and Sir Toby Matthew; and, he adds, "the Queen was acquainted with all that I said that very night, and highly displeased, and so continues."

There was without doubt the amplest justification for the Archbishop's words of protest. His own integrity had been assailed by the offer of a Cardinal's hat, and on all hands the Catholics gained ground. The rector of St. Giles in the Fields complained that a great part of his parishioners had turned papist and refused to attend church. "Popery certainly increaseth much among us," runs a contemporary newsletter; "and will do so still as long as there is such access of all sorts of English to the Chapel in Somerset House, utterly forbidden and punishable by the law of the land."¹ Evidently my lord of Dorset, who four years before had been so zealous in shutting the English out of Somerset House had wearied of well-doing; it is possible

¹ Mr. Garrard to Lord Wentworth, March 23, 1636.

even that the pertinacious Capuchins had won him over at last. At any rate, converts were plentiful among the patrician class, and the case of Lady Newport was for awhile notorious. "There hath been an horrible noise," writes Mr. Garrard,¹ "about the Lady Newport's being become a Roman Catholic : she went one evening as she came from a play in Drury Lane to Somerset House, where one of the Capuchins reconciled her to the Popish Church of which she is now a weak member." But there were still a few sturdy Protestants remaining. Sir William Balfour, Lieutenant of the Tower, was one of them. He became suspicious that his wife "resorted a little too much to Denmark House, and staid long abroad, which made him one day send after her. Word being brought to him where she was, he goes thither, finds her at her devotions in the Chapel ; he beckons her out, she comes accompanied with a priest, who somewhat too saucily reprehended the lieutenant for disturbing the lady in her devotions ; for which he struck him two or three sound blows with his battoon, and the next day came and told the King the whole passage, so it passed over."² In visiting the sick, and carrying the sacrament to outlying places in the Metropolis, no doubt the Capuchins effected a good work, and aroused the genuine interest of sympathetic spirits. But by far the greater part of the population was devoted to Protestantism, and the continuous display at Somerset House grew more and more irritating.

The disgust and suspicion generally attached to the doings of the priests from the time of their first appearance at Court, is voiced in a manuscript describing their expulsion in 1626. "Of the King's magnanimous act (in granting payment of the Queen's fictitious debts), he hath such satisfactory reasons as will stop the mouths of all gainsayers. One might be the extravagant power of this bishop (of Mende)

¹ November 9, 1637.

² Newsletter, May, 1638.

who when he was last in France sueing to be a secretary of state, fell short of that and so took instructions from the Pope's Nuncio ; which in case he should bring into effect he was promised a Cardinal's hat, which now lies in the dust. The rest of the clergy were the most superstitious, turbulent and jesuitical priests that could be found in all France, very fit to make firebrands of sedition in a foreign state ; so that his Majesty so long as he gave them entertainment, did but nourish so many vipers in his bosom. Nay, their insolence towards the Queen were not to be endured ; for besides that these bawdy knaves would by way of confession interrogate her how often in a night the King had kissed her ; and no longer ago than upon St. James's day last those hypocritical dogs made the poor Queen walk afoot (some add barefoot) from her house at St. James's to the gallows at Tyburn, thereby to honour the saint of the day in visiting that holy place where so many martyrs forsooth had shed their blood in defence of the Catholic cause. Had they not also made her to dabble in the dirt in a foul morning from Somerset House to St. James's, her Luciferian confessor riding along by her in his coach. Yea, they have made her to go barefoot, to spin, to cut her meat out of dishes, to wait at the table, to serve her servants, with many other ridiculous and absurd penances. Besides all this, letters of some of the French about her Majesty are said to have been intercepted, by which it hath appeared they have not only practised with the Pope on the one side, and the English Papists on the other side, but have had intelligence also with the Spaniard.”¹

By the interest of the Queen the King was too often prevailed upon to grant letters of grace and favour in behalf of Papists, and to direct the Courts of Justice to stay all proceedings against them. Even after conviction, Letters of Protection were frequently dispatched to the

¹ Mr. Pory to the Rev. Joseph Mead, July 1, 1626.

Judges of the Court directing the remission of fines and other penalties. Indeed so general was this consideration shown to Catholics, that many of the Privy Council were suspected of inclining to Popery. The popular feeling manifested itself in libels upon the persons of both King and Queen. During Charles's Scottish expedition of 1639, the Queen who had with difficulty been dissuaded from joining him in the field, commanded a fast to be kept every Saturday during the King's absence, among the Catholics who frequented her chapel. The Civil War was slowly brewing, and the distasteful practices carried on under her direction at Somerset House, soon formed the staple topic of Roundhead oratory in the House of Commons. About this time also a political squib addressed to the Council gave various reasons why the unpopular tax known as ship and conduct money ought freely to be paid : "First, for setting up of the Mass and maintaining idolatry. . . . The Pope's nuncio takes, and has these five years taken great pains in perverting his Majesty's simple subjects, who herein is weekly at very great charges in sending to Rome for a cartload of the wood of the holy Cross, and many old horses' and dogs' bones and teeth, which he sells dear enough ; but that cannot defray him and his great train, for he sends every week a packet of all the affairs here to Rome ; he must be well rewarded of ship and conduct money. The Friars of Somerset House who labour in distributing those relics for many private masses, and for keeping bastards, one in Dunhill Alley and four in Drury Lane, besides seven or eight in St. Giles, must have ship money to keep them and pay the nurses. . . . The Queen Mother, where-soever she hath been, there could be no peace or tranquillity, yet ship and conduct money must be had to keep her and all her chagraggs. . . . Therefore, we brave soldiers and boys intend to 'unwroote' (uproot) the doggish Friars of Somerset House on Thursday next."

The King's private secretary advised him by letter to obviate debates concerning the Capuchins, by sending them all away before the attack commenced. But Charles replied : "I know not what to say if it be not to advertise my wife of the parliament's intention concerning her Capuchins and so first hear what she will say." The Queen, however, refused to give way, and the priests remained a while longer. But when the war at last broke out the chapel at Somerset House was the first point of attack. Embittered by the Queen's disregard of milder protests, the House of Commons appointed a committee to arrest the Capuchins, to destroy all the vestments, idols (as they scornfully called the images) and utensils belonging to the chapel, to search for the Papal bulls authorising the erection of the convent, to make an inventory of the hangings and household furniture in the convent, and to deliver such effects to the keeper of the palace (March 30, 1643). (Most of these effects were subsequently recovered by the French Government.) Drastic as this order seemed no detail of it was left unexecuted. On Thursday in Passion Week the doors of the convent were battered down by a body of armed men, who seized the priests as they went on their daily round, ransacked their apartments, and carried off their provisions. Another body burst into the chapel, broke in pieces the confessionals, demolished the altars, threw a valuable picture by Rubens into the Thames, and "what my pen cannot record without trembling," says Gamache, "visited their rage upon Jesus Christ himself in the mystery that demands of us most love and reverence," by scourging a crucifix and piercing another with halberds. Not satisfied with these measures, the House, in January, 1648, ordered another Committee to break open the locks of the chapel, to erect seats and a pulpit, and to demolish every article of which they disapproved. "At that time," says Gamache, "you heard nothing talked of in London but the ruin and desolation of the Catholics."

In palliation of this ferocious assault upon the Queen's establishment, it must be borne in mind that her continuous intriguing against the representatives of the people naturally provoked a reprisal. Indeed there can be little doubt that, among the factors which contributed to bring Charles to the block, one of the most considerable was Henrietta's tactless and provocative championship of the Roman faith. In despite of the advice of sage counsellors, she continued her irritating crusade, alienating the King's friends, and widening the breach between him and his enemies. The portentous threats which coloured the debates in Parliament left her unmoved, and she persisted in the parade of her religion up to the very moment of her departure for Holland (January, 1643).

Her sojourn in that country, during which she raised money on the Crown jewels to buy armed assistance for the King, her subsequent journeys with the Royal army in England, her flight to France, and her efforts there to enlist the support of the people of her faith, all speak of indomitable spirit and a tireless devotion to the cause of the English monarchy.¹ But her devotion was misguided : its very persistence defeated the ends it strove to promote. It made the life of the King a menace to the commonweal, and gave urgency to the call for his execution.

Soon after Charles had been brought to the block (January 30, 1649), Somerset House, together with several tenements in the Strand,² parcel of the possession of Charles Stuart and

¹ The Queen's fortunes in France were of the most miserable. In 1648 Cardinal de Retz found her at the Louvre in a state verging on destitution, tending her baby daughter Henrietta, whom she was forced to keep in bed for want of means to light a fire. Of this episode Father Gamache says, "In the depth of her distress at the blockade of Paris, Queen Henrietta Maria, had sold not only her jewels to supply her famishing household, but even the altar plate of her chapel."

² These tenements had been erected on land adjoining the Strand and forming part of the site acquired by the Duke of Somerset, though whether it was embraced in the original plan of his palace and merely

Henrietta Maria, late King and Queen of England, was ordered to be sold. On this occasion the building narrowly escaped being pulled down for the purpose of making a street from the garden by the river through the ground occupied by the chapel and so to the Strand ; but the chapel having been granted to the French Protestants, the design of demolishing the whole was abandoned. We read of this in *An essay on the wonders of God in the times that preceded Christ, and how they met in him ; written in France by John d'Espagne, minister of the gospel.* The preface of this remarkable tract tells that the author used to preach in the French chapel at Durham

abandoned to less distinguished uses after his death we are unable to say. The tenements are thus described :—

The Three Bells, in the parish of St. Mary-le-Savoy, let on lease by King James in the 4th year of his reign, 13s. 4d.

The Sugar Loaf, in the same parish, let as aforesaid, 20s.

The Gun. *Idem*, 26s. 8d.

The Prince's Arms. *Idem*. And Golden Lion, 26s. 8d.

The Three Pigeons. *Idem*, 26s. 8d.

The Feathers, adjoining to Somerset House, as also the White Horse.

Idem, 26s. 8d.

The Golden Fleece. *Idem*, 26s. 8d.

The Pyed Bull ; as also the Goat. *Idem*, 26s. 8d.

The Mitre Tavern and the Red Lion (by lease from Q. Eliz.), 16s. 8d.

The Mortar and Pestle (let by King James on a lease), 20s.

The Chequer. *Idem*. In Strand Lane, 4d.

The Sugar Loaf. *Idem*, 26s. 8d.

The Golden Ball (by lease from Queen Elizabeth), 13s. 4d.

The Golden Bull (by the Viscount Purbeck, if he so long live), a pepper corn.

A house adjoining to the Chequer, in Strand Lane, in the Parish of St. Clement Danes ; not on lease, £16.

The Sugar Loaf, £30.

A house adjoining to the Sugar Loaf (let by Queen Elizabeth together), 15s.

The Plough (let by King James), 23s. 4d.

The Bird in Hand (let by Queen Elizabeth), 26s. 8d.

They had been granted in 1620 by Charles, Prince of Wales (afterwards Charles I.), to John Viscount Purbeck, and described as "24 messuages, but since divided into more tenements" for a term of 99 years if he should so long live, paying yearly 10s. at Michaelmas. Viscount Purbeck was a brother of George, first Duke of Buckingham.

House, and that when that building was pulled down "it pleased God to touch the hearts of the Nobility to procure us an order of the House of Peers to exercise our devotions at Somerset House Chapel ; which was the cause not only of the driving away the Anabaptists, Quakers, and other sects that had got in there, but also hindered the pulling down of Somerset House, there having been an order from the late usurped powers for selling the said house ; but we prevailed so far that we still got order to exempt the chapel from being sold, which broke the design of those who thought for their improvement to have made a street from the Garden through the ground the Chapel stands on, and so up the back yard to the great street of the Strand by pulling down the said Chapel." Whatever credit may be due to John d'Espagne in this matter, the Council continued in the mind to dispose of the whole property, and had a wealthy purchaser come forward there can be little doubt that the sale would have been negotiated. Ludlow asserts definitely that the palace was disposed of for £10,000, with the exception of the chapel, and in the Revenue notes for July, 1659, we discover that "the moneys arising from the sale of Somerset House¹ are not included herein, but are to go towards the Council's contingencies." At one time the palace was like to have fallen into the hands of the Quakers, who appear to have possessed certain rights in the chapel. George Fox writes in his Journal that "when some forward spirits that came among us would have bought Somerset House, that we might have meetings in it, I forbade them to do so ; for I then foresaw the King's coming in again." Perhaps it was the King's coming in again which frustrated the completion of the sale ; at any rate, no question of ownership was raised at the Restoration.

¹ It is not unlikely that this has reference to the proceeds of the sale of the King's pictures and other belongings hereafter described.

While waiting for a tempting offer, the Council did not neglect to utilise the palace for public purposes. Early in 1649 lodgings in Somerset House, once possessed by the Prince Elector (brother-in-law to Charles I.), were given for the use of the Lord General (Fairfax), and later it was ordered that the palace should be fitted up for the headquarters of the Army. In pursuance of this order, it was assigned to the trustees appointed for the sale of the late King's goods to the best advantage (July 20, 1649). But the operations of these salesmen-trustees appear to have inconvenienced certain Members of Parliament who had made themselves comfortable in the unoccupied apartments, for in less than a fortnight afterwards there occurs another note in the proceedings of the Council, to the effect that "notwithstanding any former order to the trustees for the sale of the late King's goods to use the rooms in Somerset House, it is not intended that any Member of Parliament having lodgings there be removed." Then while the sale was proceeding, and the personal belongings of Charles and his Queen were being disposed of among curiosity-hunters, an order was made that "the Lord General and his officers forbear coming to Somerset House until the goods are sold, there being need to use them (the rooms) for showing the goods." Nothing remains to tell us how the Puritan ladies and gentlemen flocked through the building and marked the vain accoutrements of royalty with a price, but it is not difficult to picture the tawdry desolation which overspread the luxurious home of Henrietta Maria while poverty-stricken in Paris she reared her youngest daughter. According to an inventory of the objects offered for sale, we judge that the furniture of Somerset House in Charles's day comprised many articles which have since acquired an almost priceless value. The arras hangings, tapestries and pictures alone formed one of the most remarkable private collections ever

brought together. In addition, there were many magnificent carpets and cloths of state, canopies of crimson velvet and cloth of silver, Queen Anne's Parliament and Coronation robes, and robes worn by Henry VIII., clocks and mirrors of great beauty. A single bed of French satin finely embroidered was appraised at £1,000 in the currency of the day, and among the hundreds of pictures a Madonna by Raphael was valued at £2,000, and a Sleeping Venus by Correggio at £1,000. A catalogue of the pictures would surely provide the modern connoisseur with an easy exercise in attributions. Even in Charles's day the genuine work of Leonardo and Giorgione was scarcely so plentiful as was popularly supposed ; but Leonardo and Giorgione, Correggio and Raphael, do not exhaust the catalogue : there are examples of Titian, Michael Angelo, Holbein, Tintoretto, Vandyke, Palmavecchio, Schiavone, Giulio Romano, Jacopo Bassano, Paris Bordone, Andrea del Sarto, Guido and many more. There were thirty classic sculptures in the palace, and five statues in the gardens.¹ All were now exposed for sale. By the 8th of September a considerable clearance had been effected, for on that date occurs an order that "all rooms and accommodations in Somerset House are appointed for the headquarters except the five rooms of state on the King's side, the Queen's little closet, the great hall, with the lodgings formerly held by Colonel Waite, and Mr. Laurence's two rooms." Then on April 23rd following comes a further reservation of "three rooms at Somerset House to be kept furnished with beds for the use of the State." It is at least doubtful whether the rooms assigned for the use of the Lord General (Fairfax) were ever occupied by him. During the time the building accommodated the head-quarters staff, the army was under the command of Lieutenant-General Fleetwood, who is known to have resided there. The staff did not, however, occupy the

¹ See Appendix I.

whole of the building ; certain public men still held apartments in it, and among them was the famous architect, Inigo Jones. He died at Somerset House on June 21, 1552.

While the army of the Commonwealth occupied the palace as an office, in the chapel close by insurrectionary and heretical enthusiasts were proclaiming a new-fangled gospel of politics. On April 10, 1653, "a young glazier at Somerset House preached destruction to the Parliament, and some officers have said that rather than the Parliament should continue they would bring in the Cavaliers." According to another account he "told his auditors they should ere long see a greater destruction fall on the Parliament than ever befell the Cavaliers." During his declamation a woman irrelevantly cried, "Why do you wear cuffs? Neither our Lord nor His disciples ever taught in cuffs." But the preacher had the sympathies of the congregation, and the woman was ejected.

Already there was discontent under the rule of Cromwell, and whatever virtues may be adjudged to the Long Parliament at that time sitting, the dearth of elections was no doubt acutely felt. In July, 1653, there "started up an audacious virago, a feminine tub-preacher, who last Sunday held forth for almost two hours in the late Queen's Mass Chapel at Somerset House, Strand, and has done so there and elsewhere several Sundays of late. She claps her Bible and thumps the pulpit cushions with almost as much confidence (I should have said impudence) as honest Hugh Peter himself."¹ Considerable freedom appears to have been granted the womankind of Cromwell's day. We are apt to claim the shrieking sister for a product of modernity until we thus encounter her full-fledged among the Puritans. What sort her audience was to hearken for two hours, and whether at last her eloquence prevailed and won them over, we should have had no means to say but for the chance

¹ *State Papers Domestic.*

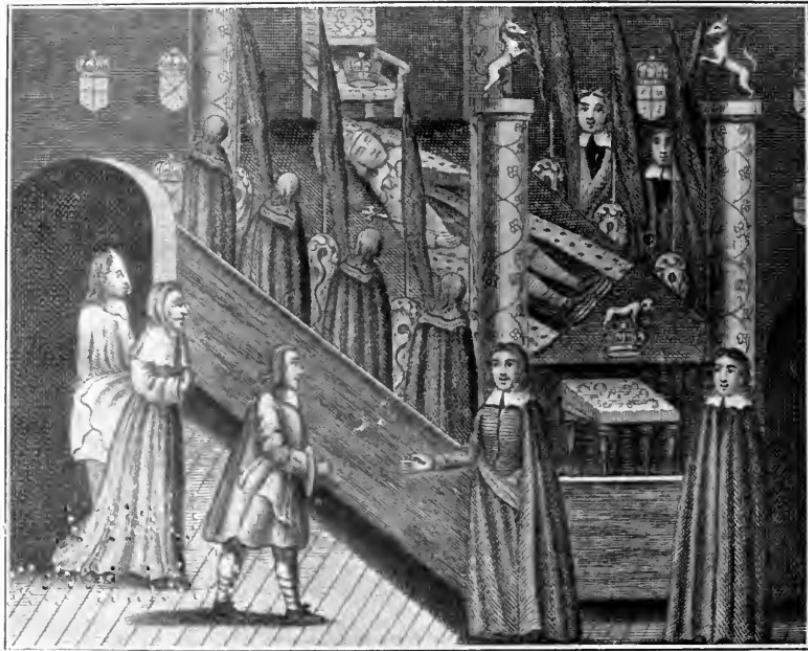
record of a contemporary, writing four days after the event : "On Sunday last," he observes, "the sermon at Westminster was disturbed by soldiers coming in with drums and trumpets ; a woman at Somerset House like to have been stoned." It is scarcely to be doubted that the unpopular woman was the disciple of "honest Hugh Peter," the seventeenth-century representative of Hyde Park oratory. That she even essayed another sermon may perhaps be judged from the fact that on the Sunday next after her escape from stoning "the congregation at Somerset House was dispersed by the soldiers."

In February, 1654, occurs an order of the Council "that the Somerset House Committee sit this day fortnight and bring in a particular account of what goods of the late King have been sold, and what creditors are satisfied ; also of what are yet unsold, and what claims are still remaining unpaid." Gradually the appurtenances of royal splendour were disappearing, and when, a few years later, the order was issued for a company of soldiers to be quartered in Somerset House, the step may not have appeared outrageous.

Here in 1656 the remains of the venerable Archbishop Usher, whose private virtues, we are told, induced Cromwell to honour him with a public funeral in Westminster Abbey, were laid in state. Here also was laid the body of Cromwell himself.

Whatever contempt for royalty and every symbol and ceremony by which royalty is denoted Cromwell may at one time have harboured, it is apparent that no sooner was he invested with the powers than he assumed the dignities of a king. When he became Protector, the escutcheon of Cromwell invariably distinguished the centre of the national ensign, and the order of his investiture was designed with regal state. He occupied the palace of Whitehall, and maintained it with a splendour his predecessor had scarcely





OLIVER CROMWELL LYING IN STATE AT SOMERSET HOUSE.

To face page 131.

surpassed. It is not surprising, therefore, that his obsequies should have been conducted with extravagant pomp, and that in the pageantry with which it was surrounded the Puritan spirit should have been finally engulfed. "He died at Whitehall on the 3rd of September, 1658 ; and his corpse having been embalmed and wrapped in lead, was, on the six and twentieth day of September, about 10 of the clock at night, privately removed to Somerset House, being only attended by his own domestic officers and servants, as the lord chamberlain and comptroller of the household, the gentlemen of the life guard, the guard or halberdiers, and divers other officers and servants ; two heralds of arms went next before the corpse, which was placed in a mourning hearse, drawn by six horses ; in which manner it was carried to Somerset House, where it remained for some days in private until things were in readiness to expose it in state to a public view, which was performed with the following order and solemnity.

"The first room at Somerset House, where the spectators entered, was formerly the presence-chamber, completely hung with black, at the upper end whereof was placed a cloth of state, with a chair of state under the same. The second large room was formerly the privy chamber, hung with black, with a cloth and chair of state under the same. The third room was formerly the withdrawing room, hung with black cloth, and had a cloth and chair of state in it as the former : all which three large rooms were completely furnished with scutcheons of his highness's arms, crowned with the imperial crown ; and at the head of each cloth of state was fixed a large majestic scutcheon, fairly painted, and gilt upon taffity. The fourth room, where both the corpse and the effigies did lie, was completely hung with black velvet, and the roof was ceiled with velvet, and a large canopy or cloth of state, of black velvet, fringed, was placed over the effigies, made to the life in wax. The effigies

itself being apparelled in a rich suit of uncut velvet, robed in a little robe of purple velvet, laced with a rich gold lace, and furred with ermins; upon the kirtle was the royal large robe of the like purple velvet, laced and furred with ermins with rich strings and tassels of gold; the kirtle being girt with a rich embroidered belt, wherein was a fair sword, richly gilt and hatched with gold, hanging by the side of the effigies. In the right hand was the golden scepter representing government: in the left hand the globe, denoting principality: upon the head, a purple velvet cap, furred with ermins, signifying regality: behind the head there was placed a rich chair of state, of tissued gold, and upon the cushion which lay thereon was placed an imperial crown, set with precious stones. The body of the effigies lay upon a bed of state, covered with a large pall of black velvet, under which there was spread a fine holland sheet, upon six stools of tissued cloth of gold; on the sides of the bed of state was placed one rich suit of complete armour, representing his late highness's command as general; at the feet of the effigies stood his crest, according to the custom of ancient monuments.

"The bed of state whereupon the effigies did then lie was ascended unto by two steps, covered with the aforesaid pall of velvet, the whole work being compassed about with rails and ballusters covered with velvet; at each corner whereof there was placed an upright pillar, covered with velvet, upon the tops whereof were the four supporters of the imperial arms, bearing banners or streamers, crowned. The pillars were adorned with trophies of military honour, carved and gilt, the pedestals of the pillars had shields and crowns gilt which completed the whole work. Within the rails and ballusters stood eight great silver candlesticks, or standarts, almost five foot high, with virgin-wax tapers of three foot long; next unto the candlesticks there were set upright, in sockets, the four great standards of his highness's arms, the guydons,

great banners, and banrolls of war, being all of taffity, very richly gilt and painted. The cloth of state, which covered the bed of state and the effigies, had a majestic scutcheon, and the whole room was fully and completely adorned with taffity scutcheons : several of his late highness's gentlemen attending bareheaded round about the bed of state in mourning, and other of his highness's servants waiting in the other rooms to give directions to the spectators and to prevent disorders. After which his late highness's effigies was several days shown in another room standing upon an ascent under a rich cloth of state, vested in royal robes, having a scepter in one hand and a globe in the other, a crown on his head, his armour lying by him, at a distance, and the banners, banrolls, and standards being placed round about him, together with the other ensigns of honour. The whole room, which was spacious, being adorned in a majestic manner, and several of his late highness's gentlemen attending about the effigies bareheaded ; in which manner the effigies continued until the solemnization of the funerals.

"On the three and twentieth day of November, in the morning, the time appointed for the solemnization of the funeral of his late highness, the several persons of honour and quality, which were invited to attend the interment, being come to Somerset House, and all things being in a readiness to proceed, the effigies of his late highness standing under a rich cloth of state in the manner afore specified was first shown to the company, and afterwards removed and placed on a hearse, richly adorned, and set forth with scutcheons and other ornaments ; the effigies itself being vested in royal robes, a scepter in one hand, a globe in the other, and a crown on the head. After it had been a while thus placed in the middle of the room it was carried on the hearse, by ten of his late highness's gentlemen, into the courtyard, where a very rich canopy of state was borne over

it, by six other of his late highness's gentlemen, till it was brought and placed on the chariot, at each end whereof was a seat, whereon sat two of his late highness's gentlemen of the bed-chamber, the one at the head and the other at the feet of the effigies. The pall which was made of velvet and white linen, was very large, extending on each side of the carriage, and was borne up by several persons of honour thereunto appointed. The chariot wherein the effigies was conveyed, was covered with black velvet, adorned with plumes and scutcheons, and was drawn by six horses, covered with black velvet, and each of them adorned with black plumes of feathers.

"From Somerset House to Westminster the streets were railed in and strewed with sand, the soldiers being placed on each side of the streets, without the rails, and their ensigns wrapped up in a cypress mourning veil. The manner of the proceeding to the interment was briefly this: First, a knight marshal advanced on horseback, with his black truncheon tipt at both ends with gold, attended by his deputy and thirteen men on horseback to clear the way. After him followed the poor men of Westminster in mourning gowns and hoods, marching two and two. Next unto them followed the servants of the several persons of all qualities, which attended the funeral. These were followed by all his late highness's servants, as well inferior as superior, both within and without the household, as also all his highness's bargemen and watermen. Next unto these followed the servants and officers belonging to the Lord Mayor and sheriffs of the City of London. Then came several gentlemen and attendants upon the respective ambassadors and the other public ministers. After those came the poor knights of Windsor in gowns and hoods. Then followed the clerks, secretaries and other officers belonging to the Army, Admiralty, the Treasury, the Navy and Exchequer. After those came the officers in command of the fleet, as also

the officers of the army. Next followed the commissioners for excise, those of the army and the Committee of the Navy. Then came the officers, messengers and clerks belonging to the Privy Council and the clerks of both houses of Parliament. Next followed his late highness's physicians. The head officers of the army. The chief officers and aldermen of the City of London. The masters of the Chancery with his highness's learned council at law. The judges of the admiralty, the masters of request, with the judges in Wales. The barons of the Exchequer, the judges of both benches, and the lord-mayor of London. Next to these the persons allied in blood to his late highness and the members of the lord's house. After them the public ministers of foreign states and princes. Then the Hollander ambassador alone, whose train was borne up by four gentlemen. Next to him the Portugal ambassador alone, whose train was held up by four knights of the order of Christ. And, thirdly, the French ambassador, whose train was also held up by four persons of quality. Then followed the lords commissioners of the great seal, the lords commissioners of the treasury, the lords of his late highness's most honourable privy-council. After whom followed the chief mourner and those persons of quality which were his assistants and bare up his train. All the nobles were in close mourning, the rest were but in ordinary, being disposed in their passage into several divisions, being distinguished by drums and trumpets, and by a standard or banner borne by a person of honour and his assistant, and a horse of state covered with black velvet and led by a person of honour followed by two grooms : of which horses there were eleven in all, four covered with black cloth and seven with velvet. These being all passed in order, at length the chariot followed with the effigies ; on each side of which were borne six banner rolls, twelve in all, by as many persons of honour. The several pieces of his late highness's

armour were borne by eight honourable persons, officers of the army, attended by a herald and a gentleman on each side. Next followed Garter, principal king of arms, attended with a gentleman on each side, bareheaded. Then came the chief mourner, together with those lords and noble personages that were supporters and assistants to the chief mourner. Then followed the horse of honour, in very rich trappings, embroidered upon crimson velvet, and adorned with white, red, and yellow plumes, and was led by the master of the horse. Finally, in the close of all, followed his late highness's guard of halberdiers, and the warders of the Tower. The solemnity was managed with a great deal of state from Somerset House to Westminster, many thousands of people being spectators in the windows and upon the scaffolds all along the way as it passed.”¹

Ludlow says that the folly and profusion of this display so provoked the people that they threw dirt in the night on the escutcheon which was placed over the great gate of Somerset House, and George Fox notes in his Journal how “there was a great pother made about the image or effigy of Oliver lying in State; men standing and sounding with trumpets over his image after he was dead. At this my spirit was greatly grieved and the Lord, I found, was highly offended.”

Between the day of the Protector’s death and that of his public obsequies over eleven weeks elapsed, and owing to a defect in the antiseptic treatment of the corpse a private burial became necessary long before the time fixed for the State funeral. This was originally arranged for November 9th, but owing to the magnitude of the necessary preparations it did not take place till the 23rd. And even then the solemnity did not impose conviction, for Evelyn remarks:

¹ See Noble’s *Memoirs of the Protectoral House of Cromwell*. The expense of the funeral amounted to £28,000. The undertaker, a Mr. Rolt, was paid but a small part, if any, of his bill.

"It was the joyfullest funeral I ever saw ; for there were none that cried but dogs, which the soldiers hooted away with a barbarous noise, drinking and taking tobacco in the streets as they went."¹ We detect here the aloofness of Evelyn from all that did honour to Cromwell, the regicide usurper ; his hostility is more open when on January 30, 1660, he writes : "This day (O the stupendous and inscrutable judgment of God !) were the carcases of those arch-rebels Cromwell, Bradshawe and Ireton dragged out of their superb tombs in Westminster among the Kings to Tyburn and hanged on the gallows there from nine in the morning till six at night, and then buried under that fatal and ignominious monument in a deep pit ; thousands of people who had seen them in all their pride being spectators."

During the protectorate of Richard Cromwell a small garrison of soldiers was accommodated, probably in that part of the building which lay to the east of the Great Court. But no incident of this period is recorded except in the diary of Samuel Pepys, who describes how on February 2, 1659, "over against Somerset House, hearing the noise of guns, we landed and found the Strand full of soldiers. So I took up my money and went to Mrs. Johnson, my Lord's sempstress, and, giving her my money to lay up, Doling and I went upstairs to a window and looked out and saw the Foot face the Horse and beat them back, and stood bawling and calling in the street for a free parliament and money. By and by a drum was heard coming towards them, and they all got ready and faced them, and they proved to be of the same mind with them ; and so they made a great deal of joy to see one another. After all this I went home on foot to lay up my money and change my stockings and shoes."

The name Denmark House, by which the building had

¹ *Diary.*

been known since Anne's day, disappeared finally at the death of Charles I. Fuller suggests that the memory of the Duke of Somerset prevailed so strongly that the name Denmark House was soon forgotten¹; but Charles preserved it throughout his reign, probably out of respect for his mother. Its disappearance at the Commonwealth is traceable to the general hatred of the Stuarts and the desire to extinguish all traces of their influence.

¹ *Church History.*

CHAPTER III (*continued*)

SOMERSET HOUSE UNDER THE STUARTS

(iii) CHARLES II

AT the Restoration of the Monarchy Henrietta Maria, the Queen-Mother, resolved to return to England, and preparations for her reception at the dower palace of Somerset House were at once begun. The arrangements were still incomplete when Henry, Duke of Gloucester, the King's brother, died of small-pox, and the Lords of the Council after a fruitless debate upon the manner of the interment ordered the body to be embalmed and sent privately to Somerset House to be deposited there under the care of His Royal Highness's servants until such time as the obsequies could be decided upon. It lay at the palace for nearly three weeks, and was taken thence for burial to the Abbey. Pepys writes : "Upon the water saw the corpse of the Duke of Gloucester brought down Somerset House stairs to go by water to Westminster, to be buried to-night."¹

The return of Henrietta Maria involved the reversion of her Chapel to its original uses. During the Commonwealth it had served as a meeting-place for several dissenting sects, and was doubtless a convenient vantage-ground for any impecunious community privileged to occupy it. On this account petty jealousies sprang up among the various congre-

¹ September 21, 1660.

gations, and when in 1660 the body of French Protestants then holding the chapel was expelled, the event brought not a little satisfaction to the less-favoured communities. A petition of the French Church "lately meeting in Somerset House Chapel, to the King for the grant of a competent portion of the Savoy Hospital as a place of worship, instead of Somerset House Chapel, where they have lately assembled, but which they now readily surrender to the Queen-mother, to whom it belongs,"¹ was hotly opposed by the general body of ministers, elders, and deacons of the French congregation in London, who appealed for protection and confirmation of privileges, and against any other French church being permitted to divide and ruin them. This second petition goes on to explain that "during the troubles, M. d'Espagne, on pretence of preaching at Lady Annandale's, erected another French church, of which since his death MM. Hierosme and Kerhnel are pastors, and Cromwell granted them the Chapel at Somerset House, which they are now forbidden."² We are, however, not concerned with the projected reunion of d'Espagne's congregation with the general body of the French Protestants. The chapel was cleared, and once more the volatile Gamache took up his ministry. Concerning the use of the chapel and convent by the Protestants during the Interregnum he writes : "The magnificent chapel in which they (the Capuchins) celebrated the divine sacrifice was, alas ! sacrilegiously changed into an infamous meeting-house of Huguenots, who pulled down the house wherein we dwelt. Some private person obtained permission to build another there in its stead. The Queen on her arrival in London found that house full and her chapel a scene of desolation. She was obliged to repair the latter and to

¹ This document is signed by J. Hierosme and Jean de Kerhnel, pastors, and by eight elders. It bears date September 28, 1660.

² Also dated September 28, 1660.

wait till the former was empty in order to lodge us in it. While thus waiting some months passed away ; at length the whole being repaired and fitted up we began to perform divine service in the chapel, to the great consolation of the Catholics."

The Roman establishment was soon reinstated on an elaborate scale. Her Majesty's lord almoner was again the Abbé Walter Montague (brother of the Earl of Manchester) ; her confessor, Father Lambert, a Frenchman. She had also a clerk of the closet and a lay brother in attendance. Attached to the convent were a warden, seven priests, and two lay brothers. They were responsible for daily service in the chapel, for sermons every Sunday, holy day and during Lent, and for the general supervision and encouragement of the Catholics of England.

On her arrival in London¹ Henrietta Maria took up her residence at Whitehall, pending the completion of the preparations at Somerset House, but her daughters, the Princess of Orange, and Henrietta, afterwards the Duchesse d'Orléans, appear to have been installed at the latter place almost immediately. On December 10th the Princess of Orange was stricken with small-pox, and the Queen to escape infection hurried her darling Henrietta away from Somerset House and retired with her to St. James's Palace.² (Evidently her maternal affections were centred in the younger child whom she had tended with such loving care in Paris.) The Princess of Orange died on Christmas Eve, 1660, and was buried at midnight on December 29th. Her funeral procession was by torchlight from Somerset House to the Abbey, where she was laid in the Stuart vault by the side of her brother, the Duke of Gloucester.³

¹ November 17, 1660.

² *Memoires of Henrietta Maria.*

³ We quote from the *Memoires of Henrietta Maria* : " Small pox seized the vitals of the most illustrious Mary, Princess of Aurange, in spite of all Art or remedy (though the bleeding of her was causelessly, ignorantly

Not long afterwards yet another of the Stuarts lay dead at Somerset House. Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, eldest daughter of James I., deceased on February 13, 1662, at Leicester House, whence in the early morning of the 17th her body was conveyed to the palace in the Strand. The same night it was taken by barge to the Abbey, attended by Prince Rupert and many nobles. Evelyn notes how "this night was buried in Westminster Abbey the Queen of Bohemia, after all her sorrows and afflictions being come to die in the arms of her nephew the King."¹

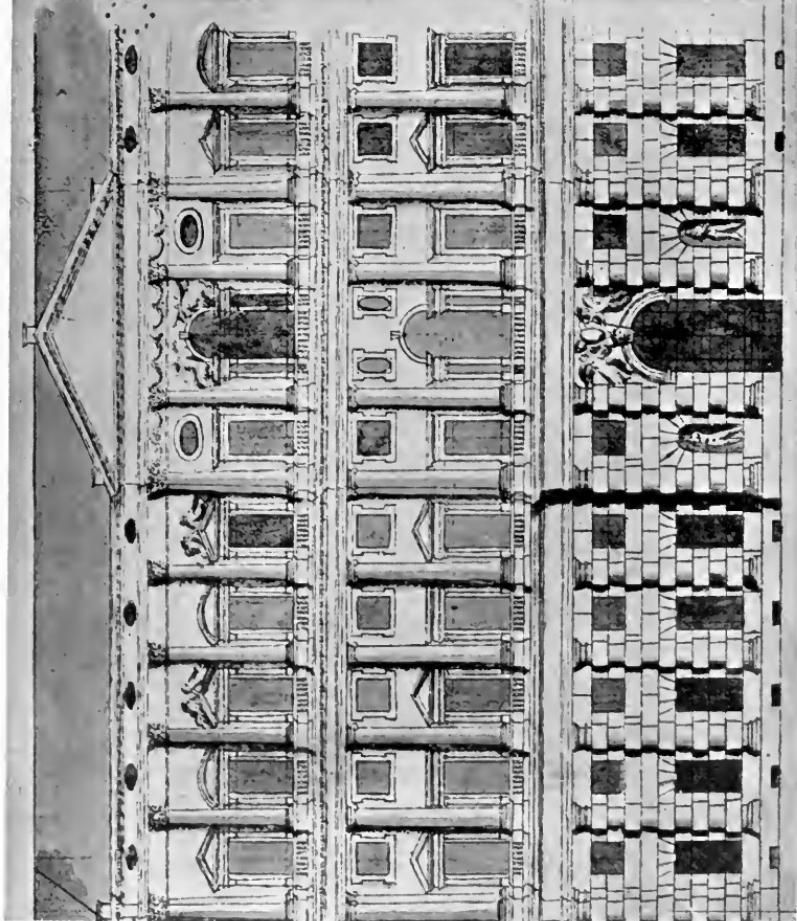
In January, 1661, Parliament granted Henrietta Maria a dowry of £30,000 per annum as compensation for the loss she had sustained at the Rebellion when all her dower-lands were seized by the regicides. To this £30,000 the King promised to add an equal sum, making in all £60,000, conditional upon her continued residence in England. It was necessary, however, for her first to go to France for the marriage of her daughter Henrietta to the Duc d'Orléans; and before leaving she rearranged her household and gave orders for extensive structural alterations to be effected at Somerset House. She embarked at Portsmouth on January 9, 1661, and returned to London at the immediate request of the King on July 28, 1662. The work at Somerset House being still unfinished, she took up her residence at Greenwich Palace.

In the meantime the Strand was busy with the life incidental to great building operations. Designs which Inigo Jones had prepared long previously were now being

taxed) carried her to her grave leaving the whole Court in very great and almost disconsolate sadness. She deceased on December 24th, her death being ushered in with a sad accident, the oversetting of the *Assurance* frigate then riding at Wolledge. The Princess was buried with a private funeral, yet honourable enough the manner thus: About five days after her decease the chiefest of the nobility met together in the House of Peers to attend the Royal corps of the Princess, which was brought about nine o'clock at night from Somerset House thither, from whence they proceeded with the funeral to Henry the Seventh Chapel."

¹ *Diary*, February 17, 1662.





DESIGN FOR RIVER FRONT, BY INIGO JONES.

(Marked "Not taken.")

From Blomfield's "Renaissance Architecture in England," by permission of Messrs. George Bell & Sons.

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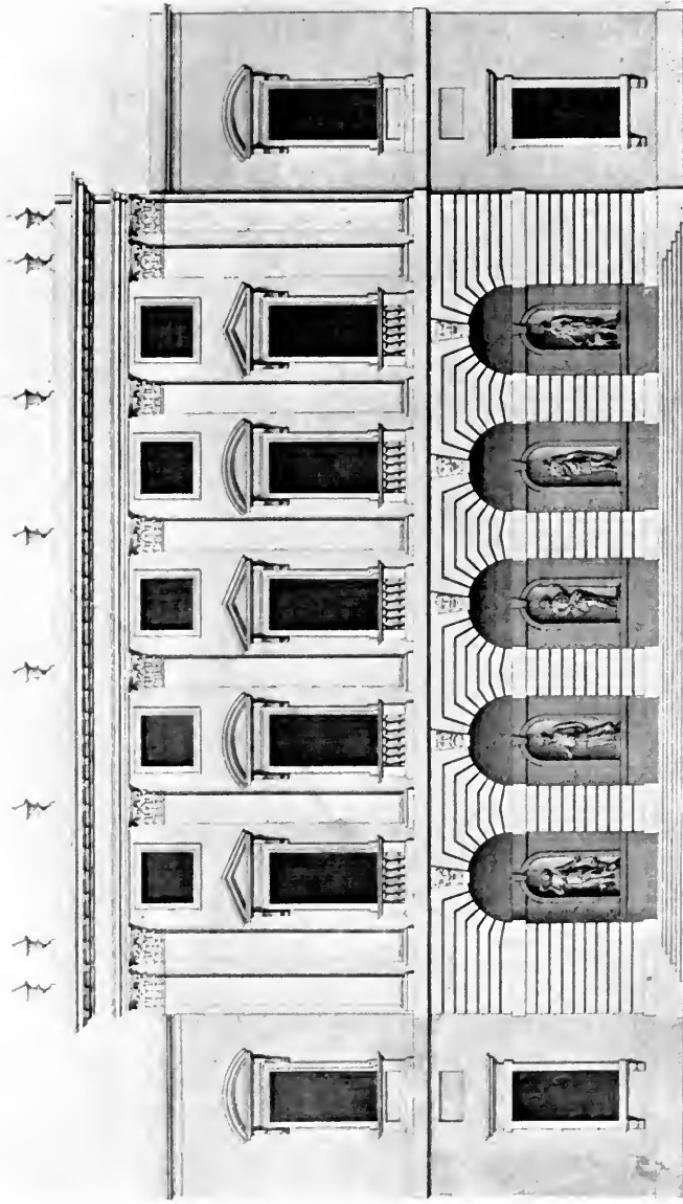
carried out, and the work became an engaging subject of gossip. The new style of architecture, and the French character of some of the fittings, attracted many observers; but, as is usual in the case of a work of art, it was the question of cost which bulked largest in the public eye. Evelyn notices the inlaid floors of differently coloured woods, stating that the idea was now adopted in England for the first time, while Pepys, eager to chronicle an item of scandal, remarks how "the Queen-Mother hath outrun herself in her expenses and is now come to pay very ill or run in debt, the money being spent that she received for leases."

Of Jones's designs for these alterations, three dated 1638 are preserved in the Library of Worcester College, Oxford. One of them, marked "not taken," shows a fine elevation in three orders—Doric, Ionic, Corinthian—each order including two storeys, with a total height to the top of the cornice of 110 feet. Clearly it was originally intended that the new buildings should extend along the whole length of the river front; but the design eventually chosen occupied a frontage of only 90 feet, and formed no more than the central feature of the façade. In possession of the Duke of Devonshire is a drawing, dated 1636, for a "chimney-piece" for the gallery of Somerset House, which suggests that Jones had already at that time been commissioned to carry out improvements. Probably it was the Queen's desire on the completion of her Chapel to proceed with the reconstruction of the river front, but lack of funds and the troubles which preluded the Civil War effectually hindered her scheme. In 1660, when the idea was revived, a considerable curtailment of the earlier plans was adopted. The operations even then proceeded but slowly, and in 1664 they were suspended altogether.

The extent of the change effected at this time is best seen in a comparison of the picture preserved in the Dulwich

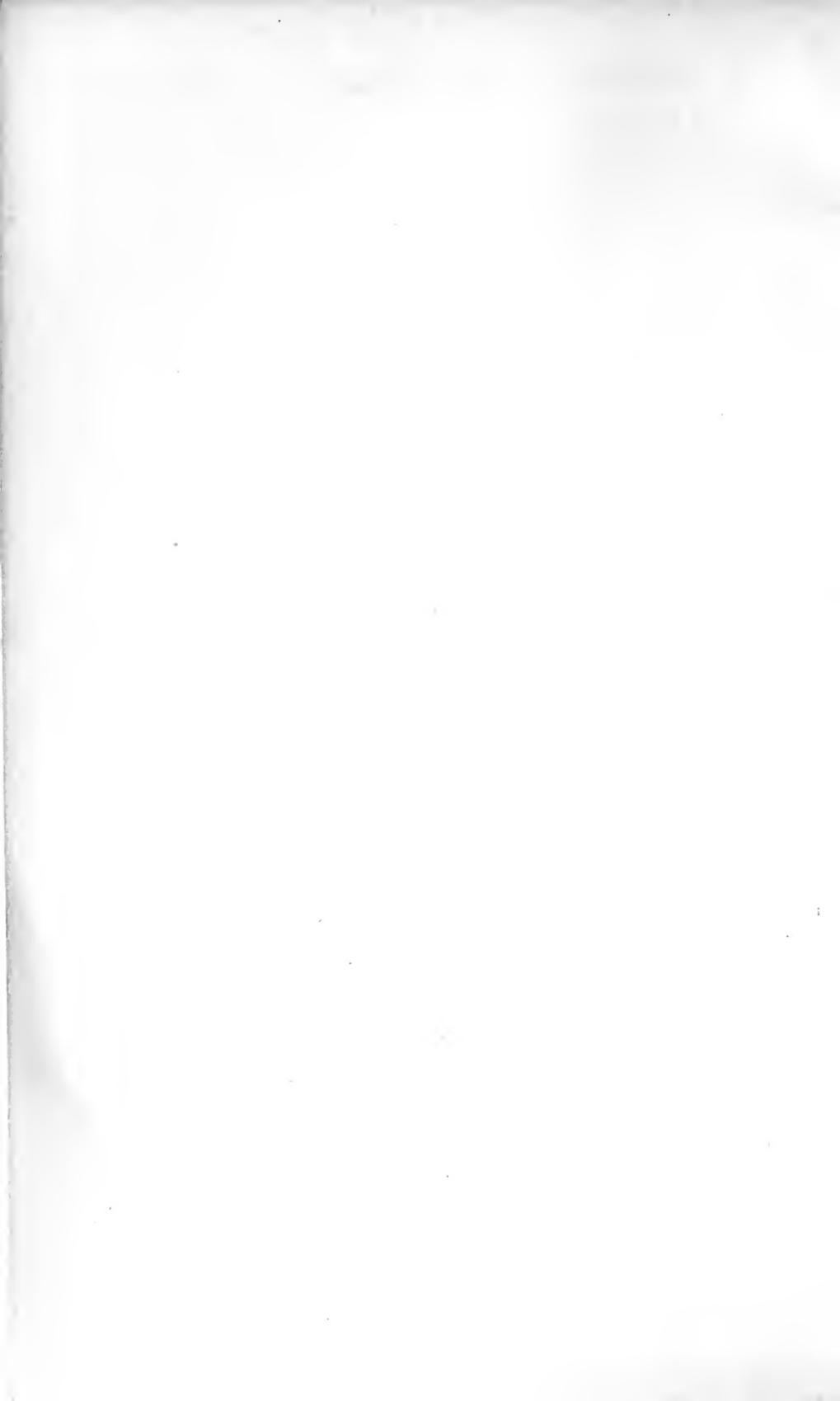
Gallery, which shows the river front prior to 1662, with that by Knyff, drawn *circa* 1720. Not only was Inigo Jones's design erected for a central feature, but the whole frontage to the river appears to have been trimmed and remodelled. The gardens were again laid out in the Italian style with paved walks and trees planted in parallel avenues running to the river. The elevation of the central block has been commented upon by a critic familiar with the building before it was removed in 1776. "It consists," he writes, "of two storeys and in five divisions. First storey : an arcade with square rusticated horizontal and vertical joints ; in the keystones human heads. Second and third storeys : Corinthian pilasters ; windows to second storey stand on pedestals, with pediments, pointed and circular alternately, supported by scrolls ; they have also architrave, frieze and cornice ; windows in the third storey square. In the general cornice ornamented modillions, eggs and anchors, &c. No other ornaments occur. This specimen is to be considered as one of the first performances entirely freed from the ornamental and architectural characters of James's reign, and possessing the chaste and pure mode of design, so manifest in Inigo's later works, and which may so justly be called a style of his own ; and though not strictly followed after his time, was never surpassed—indeed, never equalled."¹ The arcade gave access to a gallery, or piazza, as in those days it was more commonly called, at the western end of which was a stairway leading to the state apartments on the first floor. The façade was distinguished by much original beauty, and undoubtedly exercised a powerful influence in the architecture of succeeding generations. Sir William Chambers followed it closely in the Strand frontage of the modern building, and its features are badly imitated in the County Fire Office, Piccadilly Circus.

¹ *Gentleman's Magazine.*



DESIGN BY INIGO JONES (AS EXECUTED).

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Concerning these improvements, there are several allusions in the diary of Samuel Pepys. On the 24th of February, 1664 (Ash Wednesday), he writes in his quaintest vein : “To the Queen’s chapel where I staid and saw their masse till a man came and bid me go out or kneel down : so I did go out. And thence to Somerset House, and then into the chapel where Monsieur d’Espagne used to preach. But now it is made very fine, and was ten times more crowded than the Queen’s chapel at St. James’s, which I wonder at. Thence down to the garden at Somerset House, and up and down the new building, which in every respect will be mighty magnificent and costly.”¹ Again : “21st January, 1665, Mr. Povy carried me to Somerset House and there showed me the Queen-Mother’s chamber and closet, most beautiful places for furniture and pictures ; and so down the great stone stair to the garden, and tried the brave echo upon the stairs, which continues a voice so long as the singing of three notes, concords, one after another, they all three shall sound in consort together a good while most pleasantly.” But Pepys was far from solitary in his admiration of the new buildings. Abraham Cowley wrote some of his poorest verses on the subject, and published them under the title of “the Speech of Her Majesty, the Queen Mother’s palace upon the Reparation and enlargement of it by Her Majesty.”

“Before my gate a street’s broad channel goes
 Which still with waves of crowding people flows ;
 And every day there passes by my side
 Up to its Western reach the London tide,
 The spring-tides of the term. My front looks down
 On all the pride and business of the Town.

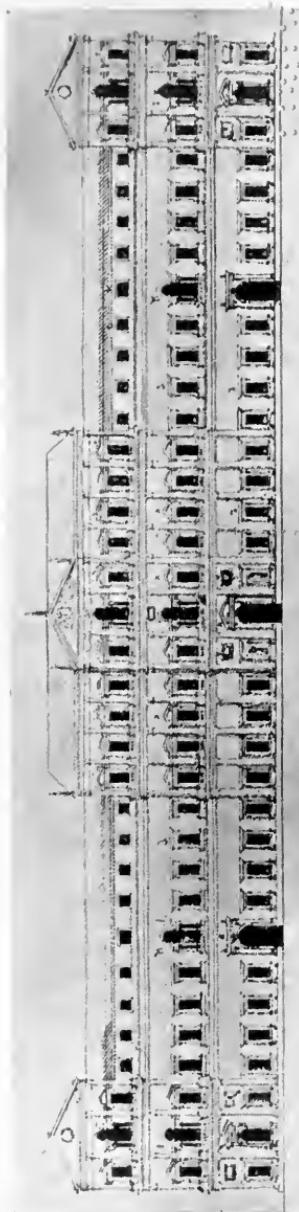
And here behold in a long bending row
 How two joint cities make one glorious bow ;

¹ See also 18th of October, 1664. “At Somerset House I saw the Queen’s new rooms which are most stately and nobly furnished.”

The midst, the noblest place, possesst by me
 Best to be seen by all and all o'er see ;
 Which way soe'er I turn my joyful eye,
 Here the great court there the rich Town I spy.
 On either side dwells safety and delight
 Wealth on the left, and power upon the right."

The remaining eight-six lines are merely a continuation of this conceit (the Palace loquitur) with interlarded compliments to the Queen. An anonymous effusion "upon Her Majesty's new buildings at Somerset House" made its appearance about the same time :

"Great Queen that does our island bless
 With princes and with palaces ;
 Treated so ill, chased from your throne
 Returning you adorn the town,
 And with a brave revenge do show
 Their glory went and came with you ;
 While peace from hence, and you were gone
 Your houses in that storm o'erthrown,
 Those wounds which civil rage did give,
 At once your pardon and relieve :
 Constant to *England* in your love,
 As birds are to their wonted grove,
 Though by rude hands these nests are spoiled,
 There, the next spring, again they build :
 Accusing some malignant star,
 Not *Britain*, for that fatal war,
 Your kindness banishes your fear,
 Resolv'd to fix for ever here :
 But what new myne this work supplies ?
 Can such a pile from ruins rise ?
 This like the first creation shows,
 As if at your command it rose ;
 Frugality, and bounty, too,
 Those differing victims, meet in you ;
 From a confin'd well-manag'd store
 You both employ, and feed the poor :
 Let forein princes vainly boast
 The rude effects of pride, and cost
 Of vaster fabriques to which they
 Contribute nothing but the pay :
 This by the Queen her self design'd,
 Gives us a pattern of her mind ;
 The state, and order does proclaim
 The genius of that royal dame



DESIGN BY INIGO JONES, EMBRACING THE WHOLE RIVER FRONT.

From Blomfield's "Renaissance Architecture in England," by permission of Messrs. George Bell & Sons.

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Each part with just proportions grac'd,
 And all to rich advantage plac'd,
 That the fair view her window yields,
 The town, the river and the fields
 Entering beneath us we descrie
 And wonder how we came so high ;
 She needs no weary steps ascend,
 All seems before her feet to bend
 And here as she was born she lies
 High without taking pains to rise.¹

These lines have been definitely attributed by some to Edmund Waller, but in a case of this sort the attribution appears of small consequence.

On re-entering her old home Henrietta Maria is said to have exclaimed : " If I had known the temper of the English some years past as well as I do now, I had never been obliged to quit this house."² The rearrangements made in her household were of a radical nature. Henry Jermyn, Earl of St. Albans, was created Lord Chamberlain and Lord Steward, and the old scandal of the Queen's relations with him was revived, though, so far as can be ascertained, without just foundation. Her Vice Chamberlain was De Vautelet ; her chancellor, the famous Sir Kenelm Digby ; Master of the Horse, Lord Arundel, of Wardour ; Secretary, Sir John Winter ; private Secretary, Abraham Cowley, the poet ; Comptroller of the Household, Sir Thomas Bond. She appointed four gentlemen-ushers at £130 per annum, four grooms of the privy chamber at £60 per annum, four pages and eight grooms of the great presence chamber, two cup-bearers, two carvers, and two gentlemen ushers of the great presence chamber, each of the last two having £120 salary and " bouche of the court " at the same table. The chief lady of the bedchamber was Frances Teresa, Duchess of Richmond, a famous beauty of

¹ London : Printed for Henry Herringman at the Anchor in the Lower Walk in the New Exchange, Anno Dom., 1665.

² Granger's *Bibliographical History*, iii. p. 72.

the period. Under the Duchess of Richmond, as second lady of the bedchamber, was the Lady Newport, and there were also four ladies of the privy chamber and eight women. Lady Saunderson was the Queen's laundress, and Elizabeth, Countess of Guildford, the Chief Housekeeper. The latter's appointment was for a period of twenty-one years ; but soon after entering upon her duties she advised the transfer of "the Keepership of Denmark, *alias* Somerset House, with court, gardens, tennis court, &c., to Sir Robert Long."¹ Evidently the office was no sinecure.

A guard of gentlemen-at-arms, very splendidly equipped, and all of good family, was kept in attendance upon the Queen at Somerset House. They wore black velvet cassocks embroidered with gold and enriched with a gold badge ; they carried halberds and waited in lines when her Majesty went to her sedan or to the chapel, or when she passed to her meals. When she drove out in her coach, which was usually drawn by six horses, they acted as a guard of honour, riding, with carbine slung to waist, on both sides of the road. The chief equerry was Sir Edward Wingfield, who controlled the stables (situate in Duchy Lane), and had under his care twenty-four horses and four coaches. There were likewise on the establishment twelve footmen, twelve bargemen, four pages of the backstairs, and several officers of the pantry, ewry, cellar and buttery ; a master of the buckhounds, master of the bows, master of the Queen's games, and master of her chapel music. Indeed, while she remained at Somerset House, Henrietta Maria maintained her court with a gaiety and splendour, which was unsurpassed even in the happier days of her husband's reign. She seldom moved abroad without an escort of the horse guards, a troop of which fine soldiery was kept in barracks at Duchy Lane to provide a guard for the quadrangle and other approaches to the palace.

¹ 8th August, 1664. *State Papers Domestic.*





Photo]

CATHERINE OF BRAGANZA.

National Portrait Gallery,
To face page 149.

[*Emery Walker.*
Dirk Stoop.

Pepys remarks on the 30th of December, 1664, that he "visited Ferrers and staid talking with her a good while, there being a little proud, ugly, talking lady there that was much crying up the Queen-Mother's Court at Somerset House above our own Queen's ; there being before her no allowance of laughing and the mirth that is at the other's ; and indeed it is observed that the greatest Court nowadays is there." But despite this magnificence, Henrietta Maria had long given up all show in her personal attire ; in fact, she never left off the garb of mourning which she had assumed on the death of Charles.

At the time of her return to Somerset House the young king, Charles II., was newly married to Catherine of Braganza. Between his Court at Whitehall and that of Henrietta Maria at Somerset House, there was a constant interchange of visits. Catherine, a simple, unsophisticated girl, still unsuspecting of Charles's character, and probably incapable of ever quite understanding him, was happy in her surroundings ; and the Queen-Mother, graceful, tactful, designing, was too much a woman of the world to disillusion her. In a racy passage of Pepy's diary we catch a glimpse of both in the afternoon of Sunday, the 7th of September, 1662, enjoying the gay company of Henrietta Maria's Court :—" Meeting Mr. Pierce, the Chyrurgeon, he took me into Somerset House, and there carried me into the Queen-Mother's presence chamber, where she was with our Queen sitting on her left hand, whom I never did see before ; and though she be not very charming, yet she hath a good modest and innocent look, which is pleasing. Here I also saw Madame Castlemaine, and, which pleased me most, Mr. Crofts, the King's bastard, a most pretty spark of about fifteen years old, who, I perceive, do hang much upon my lady Castlemaine and is always with her ; and, I hear, the queens both are mighty kind to him. By and by in comes the King, and anon the

Duke and his Duchess ; so that they, being altogether, was such a sight as I never could almost have happened to see with so much ease and leisure. They staid till it was dark and then went away ; the King and his Queen and my Lady Castlemaine and young Crofts in one coach and the rest in other coaches. Here were great store of great ladies, but few handsome. The King and Queen were very merry, and he would have made the Queen-Mother believe that his Queen was with child, and said that she said so. And the young Queen answered, “ You lye,” which was the first English word that I ever heard her say : which made the King good sport ; and he would have made her say in English, ‘ Confess and be hanged.’ ”

This sprightly description truthfully suggests the life which, at the return of Henrietta Maria to this country, gathered about her court in the Strand. A comparison of the personalities of the two queens sufficiently confirms Pepys’s comparison of the households : the one past middle age, good looking, self-assertive, witty, knowing well the way of the world, and retaining, by sheer personal force, the attention which in her youth her beauty had commanded ; the other little more than a girl, inexperienced, unattractive, retiring, and bred to the conventions of a common domesticity. It is small wonder that in the *rôle* of Queen, Catherine should have suffered a partial eclipse.

The Queen Dowager had not been cured of her passion for intrigue by the long years of hardship and privation she had suffered mainly in consequence of it ; and though she no longer interfered in the general politics of the State her championship of the Roman faith was actively pursued, and the private affairs of members of her household furnished many fruitful opportunities for her curiosity. Scandal was rife concerning her relations with the Earl of St. Albans, who had followed her, when, in 1644, she sought refuge in France ; and it is more than probable that she was impli-

cated in the disgraceful plot to force marriage upon the Duke of Lennox's daughter.

Pepys observes that "a daughter of the Duke of Lennox was, by force, going to be married the other day at Somerset House to Harry Jermyn (son of the Earl of St. Albans); but she got away and ran to the King, and he says he will protect her. She is, it seems, very near akin to the King. Such mad doings there are every day among them!"¹ To escape the designing hands of the Queen-Mother and her unscrupulous courtier by an appeal to the better sympathies of her son was a desperate course to choose. But Charles II., despite his self-indulgence, was possessed of generous instincts, and to these the Duke of Lennox's daughter did not appeal in vain.

Although the elaborate schemes which the Queen-Mother had set on foot point to her intention of spending the remaining years of her life in this country, at Mid-summer, 1665, she left Somerset House for France, and never again set foot on English soil. Pepys gives this explanation of her sudden departure: "By water to Whitehall, where the Court is full of waggons and people ready to go out of town. This end of the town every day grows very bad with the Plague. . . . Home, calling at Somerset House, where all were packing up, too; the Queen-Mother setting out for France this day, to drink the Bourbon waters this year, she being in a consumption, and intends not to come till winter come twelvemonths."² Père Gamache names the 24th June as the date of her departure, and states that she was accompanied by the King, Queen Catherine and the lords and ladies of the household, who sailed with them fifteen leagues, that is presumably, to the buoy at the Nore.

Her departure upon the realisation of her scheme for the improvement of Somerset House attracted a good deal

¹ *Diary*, 23rd February, 1664.

² *Diary*, 29th June, 1665.

of comment. Ostensibly, as Pepys observes, she left to drink the Bourbon waters and to escape the Plague, but it is possible she had an even stronger motive in her desire to visit her youngest daughter, the Duchesse d'Orlèans, who during the sad years of her exile had been her sole companion. Such reasons were doubtless fortified by the decline of her influence at her son's Court, and an inbred dislike of the Protestants. Moreover, her health was failing. Instead of drinking the Bourbon waters she retired to her château at Colombes, outside Paris, and there, on the 31st August, 1669, took an opiate by order of her physician and died sleeping. She was buried in the church of St. Denis, near Paris, in the burying place of the kings of France.

Soon after her departure from Somerset House the Plague spread so rapidly that five thousand persons perished of it in a single week. Alarmed by the news, and, fearing lest the crowds which flocked to the chapel might carry infection thither, she ordered the building to be closed. But the Capuchins in charge begged her not to prevent them in the fulfilment of their duty; and "at this appeal," says Gamache, "the Queen overcame her fears of infection, and, moreover, disbursed vast sums in charity by the hands of the Capuchins of Somerset House to alleviate the appalling miseries with which the London poor were afflicted in those days of horror." Two of the Capuchins fell victims to the Plague while pursuing their devoted labours in the infected districts.

From this time the palace was occupied by noblemen and ladies of the Court, whom the King desired to accommodate. The Earl of St. Albans and Dr. Godden, Queen Catherine's chaplain, held suites of apartments there, and so did the Duchess of Richmond, so famous for her beauty and her virtue.

Writing on the 26th of March, 1668, Pepys observes:—
"This noon, from Mrs. Williams's, my Lord Brouncker sent

to Somerset House to hear how the Duchess of Richmond do ; and word was brought him that she is pretty well, but mighty full of the small-pox, by which all do conclude she will be wholly spoiled, which is the greatest instance of the uncertainty of beauty that could be in this age ; but then she hath had the benefit of it to be first married, and to have kept it so long under the greatest temptations in the world from a king, and yet without the least imputation." The interest of Pepys in this event is explained in another passage of his diary : " Above all Mrs. Stewart (as the Duchess of Richmond then was), . . . with her hat cocked and a red plume, with her sweet eye, little Roman nose, and excellent taille, is now the greatest beauty I ever saw, I think, in my life." Indeed, to judge by the list of the hopeless passions which her beauty inspired, this lady must have been possessed of extraordinary personal charm. While still a child Louis XIV. of France begged that she might be left as an ornament to his Court. But Henrietta Maria, to whose suite she was attached, determined to send her away to England, and on January 2, 1663, procured for the young beauty, *la plus jolie fille du monde*, a letter of introduction to Charles II. The Great Louis accordingly contented himself with bestowing upon her the farewell gift of a jewel, and " la belle Stewart " left Paris for England. The outcome of this arrangement is described by Pepys in his diary for the 6th of November, 1663, where he tells how " My Lord (the Earl of Sandwich) . . . Sir H. Bennet, the Duke of Buckingham and his Duchess, was of a committee with somebody else for the getting of Mrs. Stewart for the King ; but that she proves a cunning slut, and is advised at Somerset House by the Queen-Mother, and by her mother, and so all the plot is spoiled and the whole committee broke, Mr. Montague and the Duke of Buckingham fallen apieces, the Duchess going to a nunnery." So disastrous was the effect of the virtue of Frances Teresa

Stewart, who at the time was but fifteen years old. It is said that Charles's feeling for this delightful child approached nearer to what may be called love than any other of his attachments. But he was for a long time unsuccessful in his attentions, and at length seemed to have lost the day to the Duke of Richmond ; for on a wild night in March, 1667, Miss Stewart escaped from her rooms at Whitehall, joined the duke at the "Beare by London Bridge," and fled with him into Kent, where they married.

When the news reached Charles's ears he was beside himself with rage, and to add to his annoyance the young Duchess returned him all the jewels she had received at his hands. But the estrangement was of short duration. At the intercession of the Queen (who preferred "*la belle Stewart*" to any other of her husband's favourites), she was restored to her position at Court, and Charles became more assiduous in his attentions than before. While she lay at Somerset House suffering from small-pox, Charles, in the ardour of his attachment, forgot the risk of infection and paid her several visits. It seems that, to the wife of a nobleman nearly allied to the throne, a canon of the Court ritual sanctioned these visits and forbade either the Duke or the Duchess herself to refuse the King admission to the sick chamber. Although her illness left the Duchess with injured eyes and an impaired beauty, she was still "*la belle Stewart*," and able to inspire Charles with an ever-increasing passion. His conduct often lacked even the specious sanction of Court etiquette, witness a characteristic anecdote of Pepys. "Pierce tells me, too," he writes "that since my lord Drummond's coming over the King begins to be mighty reclaimed, and sups every night with great pleasure with the Queen ; and yet, it seems, he is mighty hot upon the Duchess of Richmond ; insomuch that, upon Sunday was se'nnight, at night, after he had ordered his guards and coach to be ready to carry



Photo]

FRANCES THERESA, DUCHESS OF RICHMOND.

[*Spooner & Co.*

From the painting by Sir Peter Lely, at Hampton Court.

To face page 154.



him to the park, he did on a sudden take a pair of oars, and all alone, or but one with him, go to Somerset House, and there, the garden door not being open, himself clambered over the wall to make a visit to her, which is a horrid shame!"¹ but an interesting sidelight on the character of Charles. Whether this supreme mark of devotion on the part of the Merry Monarch finally secured him in the Duchess's favour, no account remains; it is generally thought not, though soon after this date the Duke of Richmond disappeared from London, first into Scotland, and then, as ambassador, to Denmark, where he died; while the Duchess for many years remained in attendance at Court.²

The palace is next associated with Monck, Duke of Albemarle, the great military commander of the Restoration. At his death on the 3rd of January, 1670, the King, mindful, no doubt, of the day he landed at Dover and was received by the great soldier, whom he kissed and called his "father," assumed responsibility for the funeral arrangements and announced his intention to bear the entire expense of the obsequies. The burial was long delayed in consequence. "It is almost three months," wrote Andrew Marvell on the 21st of March, "and yet he lies in the dark (at Somerset House) unburied and no talk of him." According to a Life of Monck, published soon after his decease, "his body was carried to Somerset House and there exposed with a Royal State and Attendance for many

¹ *Diary*, 19th May, 1668.

² Of the great beauty of the Duchess of Richmond there seems to have been but one opinion. "Her features were faultless and regular, her complexion dazzling, her hair fair and luxuriant. Her figure, which rose above the common height, was well proportioned, though slender. She danced, walked, dressed with perfect elegance, and sat her horse with peculiar grace. To her Parisian education she owed her admirable *air de parure*. Her childish disposition only enhanced her charm, and she was never known to speak ill of anyone." Several portraits preserve the memory of her loveliness, notably that by Lely, at Hampton Court. At the King's request she sat for the emblematic figure of Britannia, which distinguishes the English penny.

weeks, and then conducted to Westminster with as much glory and pomp as love, art, and cost could bestow, there in his Majesty's chappel-royal in the quire, lodged in the greatest state and his body entombed among the monuments of the Kings and Queens of this realm, in Henry the Seventh's chappel, the sacred repository of the ashes of his Majesty's royal ancestors."

Again, two years later, the Palace was the scene of yet another pageant, that of the funeral of the Earl of Sandwich, Admiral of the Fleet, and hero of the diary of Samuel Pepys. Albemarle and Sandwich, who thus follow one another through the portals of Somerset House to a grave in the Abbey, were bitterly opposed to one another in life. Pepys tells how "my lord (Sandwich) was willing to do all the honour in the world to Monck . . . though he will many times express his thoughts of him to be but a thick-skulled fool"; and this ill-feeling became intensified as time went on. Sandwich perished at sea. His flagship, being successfully grappled by a fireship in the Dutch war of 1672, blew up with the loss of all on board. Sandwich's body was found floating in the sea near Harwich some days later, and was taken up, embalmed, and brought to Greenwich. Thence it was removed to Somerset House by water, and after lying there in state was buried at Westminster on the 3rd of July, 1672. In Evelyn's Diary of that date is the note, "To Lord Sandwich's funeral, which was by water to Westminster in solemn pomp."

Under date the 19th of July, 1672, Evelyn writes: "After dinner went to the christening of Sir Samuel Tuke's son, Charles, at Somerset House by a popish priest and many odd ceremonies. The godfathers were the King and Lord Arundel of Wardour, and godmother the Countess of Huntingdon." Tuke was a man who stood high in the favour of King Charles II. He enjoyed some fame as a playwright. During the early years of the reign

he was engaged in several important missions, and at the time of his son's christening occupied apartments at Somerset House. He was a staunch Catholic, and married Mary Sheldon, "one of the dressers belonging to Queen Catherine." Speaking of him Pepys observes : " I do find him I think a little conceited, but a man of very fine discourse as any I ever heard almost." He died at Somerset House on the 26th of January, 1674, and was buried in the Chapel.

His wife appears to have continued to live at the palace, and about this time also the Queen, Catherine of Braganza, began to occupy the State Apartments as an occasional residence. Doubtless Lady Tuke was still in attendance as "one of the dressers," and must have found in the Roman Catholic household a congenial environment.

Under Catherine a regular establishment of the Roman Catholic order was maintained in the Chapel, and the Queen frequently journeyed from one or another of her outlying palaces specially to be present at the service there. The arrangements differed but little from those in force during the lifetime of Henrietta Maria, the labours of the missionary monks attached to the convent being in no wise diminished.

To this period belongs the association of Matthew Locke with the musical services of the Chapel. Locke became "Composer in ordinary to His Majesty" as early as 1661, and in 1674 was receiving £40 a year as "one of the gentlemen of his Majesty's musick." His appointment as Organist to Queen Catherine at Somerset House Chapel dates from the year 1668. While holding that post he composed many of his most notable works. His musical dialogue between Neptune and Apollo, on the death of the Earl of Sandwich, may have been written while the Earl's body lay at Somerset House awaiting burial. Roger North,

in his *Memoirs of Musick*, says that “Locke was organist at Somerset House Chapel as long as he lived, but the Italian masters that served there did not approve of his manner of play, but must be attended by more polite hands ; and one while one Sabancino, and afterwards Sig. Baptista Draghi used the great organ, and Locke (who must not be turned out of his place, nor the execution) had a small chamber-organ by, on which he performed with them the same services.” But if as an organist Locke failed to please the fastidious Italians, as a composer he enjoyed a great and well-merited reputation. Only Purcell among the musicians of the time surpassed him in originality and poetic force. Even in our own day to come by accident upon a dance measure or an anthem by Matthew Locke makes life the richer by a novel charm.

A document printed in 1672 gives : “A Summary Relation of the Holy Congregation of our B. Lady of Succour, Erected in the Kingdom of New Granada ; Approved by His Holiness Pope Innocent the X., and now newly instituted in Her Majesties Royal Chappel at Somerset House.” This curious pamphlet, after granting indulgences to members of the existing congregation, proceeds : “And that the benefit thereof may be extended also to the Faithful in this Kingdom, Commission is given to one of the Religious Order of Saint Francis at Her Majesties Chappel in Somerset House to receive the names of such as desire to be of this Holy Congregation.” It is evident that the establishment was not guilty of inactivity, and the propaganda which they vigorously carried on no doubt resulted in many of the “Faithful in this Kingdom” joining their ranks. At any rate, the congregation of Somerset House Chapel figured largely in the agitation which followed the discovery of the “Popish Plot.”

The Catholic revival, if such it may be termed, which drew encouragement from the attitude adopted by

Charles II. in the negotiations preceding the Peace of Nimeguen (July, 1678) aroused the public mind to suspicions of his religious integrity when Titus Oates, seizing the opportunity, published his invention of the "Popish Plot." This adventurer declared that he had been entrusted with letters which disclosed the Jesuit plans for encouraging insurrectionary movements in Ireland and Scotland while in England the King was being assassinated to make way for the papist Duke of York. Circumstances lent colour to the story, which was brought to the notice of Charles, without, however, exciting his apprehension. But Oates persisted in his agitation, and in September made depositions on oath before Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey, a London magistrate. These were laid before the Privy Council, and the suspicion which had been aroused quickly grew to alarm. Godfrey, according to Burnet the historian of the period, became "apprehensive and reserved," but declined the advice of friends who, fearing the vengeance of the Papists, would not have had him go about unattended.

On Saturday morning, the 12th of October, 1678, however, he left his house at Charing Cross about nine o'clock, was seen afterwards in St. Marylebone, and about noon called on one of the churchwardens of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields; then, according to one account, he was observed in the Strand between St. Clement Danes Church and Somerset House. He did not return home, and his servants instituted a search. On the following Thursday his body was found in a ditch on the south side of Primrose Hill lying face downwards and transfixed by his own sword. His money and jewellery were found untouched, his pocket-book and lace cravat alone being removed. At the inquest the surgeons alleged that marks about the neck showed that Godfrey died of suffocation and was stabbed after death. Other witnesses showed that the body was not in the ditch on the preceding Tuesday, and that it must have been

placed there when dead. A verdict of wilful murder against some person or persons unknown was returned, and a proclamation was issued offering a reward of £500 for the discovery of the culprits.

The crime was laid at the door of the Roman Catholic clergy, and popular indignation against papists increased greatly. A Parliamentary Committee under the presidency of Shaftesbury sat to investigate Oates's statements and Godfrey's murder. Bedloe, one of Oates's confederates, gave evidence before the Committee, and boldly attributed the murder to the Queen's Popish servants. On November 8, 1678, Somerset House was searched for papists connected with the plot, and soon Oates, taking advantage of the secluded manner in which the Queen was living in that residence, outstripped Bedloe by accusing Catherine herself of a design to poison the King. He deposed that he had accompanied a party of Jesuit priests one day in August to Somerset House, and there had heard through a partly-open door the Queen protesting that she would no longer suffer indignities to her bed (the Duchess of Portsmouth was occupying the Queen's place at Whitehall), and would not be content till she procured the death of her husband and the triumph of the Roman Catholic faith. But the subsequent cross-examination demonstrated his entire ignorance of the internal arrangements of Somerset House and the impossibility of his having heard any such conversation. Bedloe, however, came forward with corroborative testimony of an interview between Catherine and some French priests in the gallery of the Chapel. Sir George Wakeman, the Queen's physician, was to prepare the poison, Catherine herself to administer it. On the 25th of November Oates and Bedloe swore to their depositions at the bar of the House of Commons, and the day afterwards repeated their statements to the House of Peers. But at the trial of Wakeman, which followed, Oates

broke down under a searching interrogatory and the prisoner was acquitted, and with him, of course, the Queen herself.

This event took place on the 18th of July, 1679, and Evelyn in his diary for that date notes : “ I went early to Old Baily Sessions House to the famous trial of Sir George Wakeman, one of the Queen’s Physicians, and three Benedictine monks (William Marshal, William Rumley, and James Corker) ; the first (whom I was well acquainted with, and take to be a worthy gentleman abhorring such a fact) for intending to poison the King ; the others as accomplices to carry on the plot to subvert the Government and introduce Popery. The Bench was crowded with the Judges, Lord Mayor, Justices, and innumerable spectators. The chief accusers were Dr. Oates (as he called himself) and one Bedlow, a man of inferior note. Their testimonies were not so pregnant, and I fear much of it from hearsay, but swearing positively to some particulars which drew suspicions upon the truth ; nor did circumstances so agree as to give either the Bench or Jury so entire satisfaction as was expected. After therefore a long and tedious trial of nine hours, the Jury brought them in not guilty, to the extraordinary triumph of the Papists, and without sufficient disadvantage and reflections on witnesses, especially Oates and Bedlow. . . . The sessions ended I dined, or rather supped (so late it was), with the Judges in the large room annexed to the place, and so returned home. Though it was not my custom or delight to be often present at any capital trials, we having them commonly so exactly published by those who take them in shorthand, yet I was inclined to be at this signal one, that by the ocular view of the carriages and the circumstances of the managers and parties concerned I might inform myself and regulate my opinion of a cause that had so alarmed the whole nation.”

A more particular account of the circumstances imme-

dately attending the murder of Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey was, however, elicited from one Miles Prance, a Roman Catholic silversmith, who at various times had worked in the Queen's chapel at Somerset House ; but it is of doubtful authenticity, like so many other details of this amazing conspiracy. Referring to the arrest of Prance, Anne Countess of Sunderland, in a letter to John Evelyn,¹ writes : "On Monday they obtained a summons from Secretary Williamson to search Somerset House, where they found all the people save one that he had told them, and seized them. This made a great noise yesterday ; and this fellow, who is a silversmith, and used to clean the plate of the Queen's chapel, was brought before the King and Council, and upon search they are now satisfied that the murder was done at Somerset House. The King himself begins to believe it ; my lord Bellasis is still named to be the chief in it, by this fellow too ; several other very weighty circumstances he told, and several other persons he has named in private to a Committee of the House of Commons last night, who were writing what he said two hours at the prison. One thing more I must not omit, which is said, that in the search at Somerset House after the men this fellow accused they found between fifty and sixty Irish and other priests, but not having a warrant to seize them, they could not." According to Prance, who had been arrested as a Catholic conspirator, and confessed only after much torture and cross-examination, certain Catholic priests decided upon Godfrey's murder on account of his strong Protestantism and the influence he had granted in favour of Titus Oates. They and their associates followed Godfrey's movements for many days, until, on the fatal Saturday, he was lured into the courtyard of Somerset House, where the Queen was in residence, on the pretext that two of her servants were fighting there. The murderers were lying

¹ Dated December 25, 1678.

in wait, and straightway he was strangled, in the presence of three priests, by Robert Green, cushionman in the chapel, Laurence Hill, servant to Dr. Thomas Godden, treasurer of the chapel, and Henry Berry, porter of Somerset House. Meanwhile Prance himself watched one of the gates to prevent interference. The body was kept at Somerset House in the apartments of Dr. Godden, which, as chaplain and preceptor to the Queen, he had occupied since her arrival in 1661, till the following Wednesday night, when it was carried in a sedan chair to Primrose Hill, and there disposed as it was found on the day afterwards. Prance declared that he afterwards attended a meeting of Jesuits and priests at Bow, where the foul deed was celebrated in a carousal. Green, Hill, and Berry were at once arrested; Dr. Godden escaped to Paris. But before his trial Prance recanted the story, only to reassert its truth a few days later. At the trial he swore to his original statement, and Bedloe, appearing to corroborate it, deposed further that offers of money had been made to him by Lefaire, Pritchard, and other priests of the chapel at Somerset House to entice him into the crime. His allegations did not agree in detail with Prance's statement; but one of Godfrey's servants testified that Hill and Green had both called with messages at her master's house prior to the murder, and a conviction was the result. Green and Hill, both Roman Catholics, were hanged at Tyburn on the 21st of February, 1679, and Berry, in consideration of his Protestantism, was granted a week's respite.

The populace was satisfied with this show of expiation. Primrose Hill, which had once been known as Greenbury Hill, again bore that name in reference to the supposed murderers, while Somerset House was nicknamed Godfrey Hall.

But the truth about the murder, which at the time aroused so much interest and appeared so significant, is

unknown to this day. Prance's story was finally retracted in 1686, when he pleaded guilty to perjury in having concocted the whole of his evidence. He suffered for his guilt by paying a fine of £100, standing in the pillory, and being whipped at the cart's tail from Newgate to Tyburn. The most probable explanation of the mystery is that Oates and his confederates caused Godfrey to be murdered in order to give colour to their allegations against the Queen and her household and to excite popular opinion in their own favour. But their roguery was eventually well requited, and the work of the Papists at Somerset House allowed for a while to proceed.

In this imbroglio the only happy incident was the renewal of Charles's attachment to Catherine—simple, domestic Catherine—resulting in her return to Whitehall. Once before, during a severe illness of the Queen, Charles had demonstrated, by his anxiety for her recovery, that his character was not devoid of tender feeling for the sufferings of others ; and now, while Catherine was held up to public obloquy and went in danger of losing her life for complicity in the “Plot,” Charles stood by her side. “The Queen is now a mistress,” wrote Lady Sunderland at the time, “the passion her spouse has for her is so great.” Nevertheless for several years Catherine continued to be involved in the inventions and recriminations of politico-religious adventurers ; but, as if to reward her for patient endurance of so much wretchedness, she had the happiness of knowing that her husband died in the faith she had always professed. It is recorded by Evelyn that on his deathbed Charles received a message from the Queen asking his forgiveness if at any time she had offended him ; and in another account we read his reply : “Alas ! poor woman, she beg my pardon ! I beg hers with all my heart.”

Charles's death took place on the 6th of February, 1685. Catherine's grief at the event was extreme. She received

visits of condolence on a bed of mourning, in a room but faintly illuminated by burning tapers. The new king treated her with the greatest kindness, and permitted her to retain for two months the apartments she had occupied as Queen Consort at Whitehall. Then she removed to Somerset House, which she retained in her right of Queen Dowager, and, except during certain periods spent in her convent house at Hammersmith, she there passed the remainder of her life in England. Her favourite chaplain, Dr. Godden, who had been in exile since the false testimony of Prance involved him with the murderers of Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey, now returned to her service, and was reinstated in his old office. In 1686 *A Sermon of the Nativity of our Lord, preached before the Queen Dowager at Somerset House*, was issued in his name. He died in November, 1688, while the nation was in the throes of the Revolution, and was buried on December 1st in the vault under the chapel.

Queen Catherine lived in great privacy during the short reign of James II., devoting herself mainly to the observances of her faith. Pictures of her life at this period describe her as miserable and neglected, continually seeking the solace of her religion and occupying her leisure with music and games of cards.

During 1677 the Prince of Orange, afterwards William III. of England, resided at Somerset House for a considerable time, both before and after his marriage with the Princess Mary.

At his landing in 1689, Catherine comported herself with great reserve. The passions of the rabble had been excited against persons of her religion; but she withstood the storm and remained quietly at Somerset House, while her Lord Chamberlain, Feversham, exerted himself in the cause of James II. And James, it seems, was so well satisfied with her honourable and conscientious behaviour in the time of his distress, that on being brought back

to London (December 18, 1688) after his first flight, he stopped at Somerset House to confer with her before proceeding to Whitehall. In this matter she must have acted with great discretion, inasmuch as her personal relations with William do not appear to have been disturbed. But the new King was suspicious of Feversham, whose Jacobin sympathies were pronounced, and who had carried from James as he fled the country an injudicious message to William at Windsor. Accordingly, Feversham was arrested, but a fortnight later Catherine obtained his release by explaining that she was unable to play her favourite game of basset without her Lord Chamberlain to keep the bank. In July, 1689, a bill for limiting the number of the Queen's popish servants to eighteen was rejected by the Lords; and on the whole the attitude of King William continued to be friendly. In June, 1690, however, two days before he left London for Ireland, William sent Lord Nottingham to acquaint Catherine "that it was observed there were great meetings and caballings against his government at her residence at Somerset House, and that he therefore desired that her majesty would please leave the town, and take up her abode either at Windsor or Audley End." The Queen, astonished by this message, replied that "her earnest desire was to quit his territories altogether for Portugal, if he would but have ships appointed for her voyage; as it was, she did not intend to go out of her house which was her own by treaty." To this spirited response, his Majesty wrote in a complimentary strain and bade her not think of removing. During his absence in Ireland, however, some unpleasantness occurred between Catherine and Queen Mary on the ground that a prayer for the success of the Irish campaign was omitted from the service in the Savoy Chapel, which was under Catherine's jurisdiction and used by the Protestants of her household. This appears to have

rekindled the widowed Queen's desire to leave England. But her departure was delayed by the difficulty of securing an escort; and in the meantime the King visited her, showing a greater sense of humour than is usually allowed him, by inquiring "why she was not playing basset that night"—a sly reference to the plea in her petition for the release of Feversham. At last, on the 30th of March, 1692, she quitted Somerset House for Portugal. We have a picture of her going in a passage of the *Gentleman's Journal* for 1692 : "The Queen Dowager hath finally left Somerset House and is gone for Dover in order to embark for Calais ; she was saluted by the guns on the Tower as she passed over the Bridge ; and a numerous body of coaches with persons of quality of both sexes bore her Majesty company out of Town."



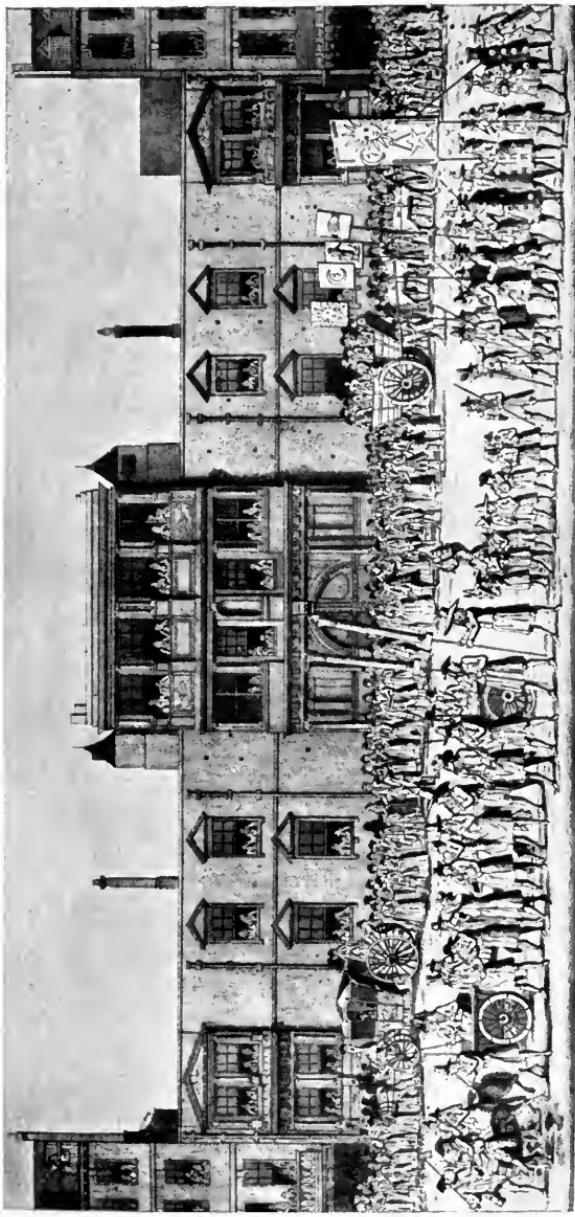
[Medal struck to commemorate the Murder of Sir E. Godfrey.]

CHAPTER IV

OLD SOMERSET HOUSE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

BEFORE leaving England Catherine confided her palace of Somerset House to the keeping of Lewis de Duras, Earl of Feversham, who accordingly passed under the sobriquet of King-dowager. The Queen had not been long out of the country, however, when the danger of a French invasion seemed imminent, and Feversham being looked upon as an adherent of the exiled King James II. was requested to retire to Holland till peace should be again assured. This he stoutly declined to do, claiming his right as a peer and a subject to remain in residence at Somerset House. The order does not appear to have been insisted upon as regards Feversham himself, but in May of the same year (1692) a warrant was issued "to William Sutton or any other messenger in ordinary to search the lodgings of Dr. Robert Lightfoot in Somerset House for suspicious persons and having found them to apprehend them on suspicion of high treason and bring them to be examined." What became of the suspicious persons thus confidently located is left to conjecture, but it is evident from the temper of the note that Somerset House was still regarded as a den of mischief-makers, the plague-spot of the English political world.

Although the Palace would not, in strictness, revert to the Crown until Catherine's death, the Government under-



STRAND FRONT (WITH PROCESSION OF SCALD MISERABLE MASONs), 1742.

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took in 1694 to put the building thoroughly in repair for the accommodation of the poorer nobility. Like the Hampton Court of our day the Somerset House of that day became, as Churchill has it, "a mere lodging pen."¹ Persons holding official positions or having sufficient interest at Court to obtain the privilege of occupying free apartments were now the principal residents. Among those living there in 1708 were the Earl of Feversham, the Countess of Fingall and Lady Arlington, the widow of Secretary Bennett. The state apartments were, however, reserved for the entertainment of foreign ambassadors and for other public purposes ; and the palace continued to be kept as a royal house, having two sentinels at its gate, a porter, a house-keeper, a chaplain, and a lay reader. As an instance of the appropriation of the building to the lodging of persons of influence, we have a letter dated October, 1709, from Queen Anne to the Duchess of Marlborough : "I have not yet so perfect an account of Somerset House as I would have," writes her Majesty, "which is the reason I have not said anything concerning poor Mrs. Howe ; but I shall be able in a few days to let you know what lodgings she can have." In 1712 the Duke d'Aumont occupied apartments in the building, and during his stay gave a grand masquerade to six hundred people ; and the Dutch ambassadors Van Duivenvorde and Van Booselen were entertained there after their public entry into London in 1714.

In connection with the repairs effected in 1694, Sir Christopher Wren, then engaged in constructing the dome

¹ See *The Ghost*, 1762 :—

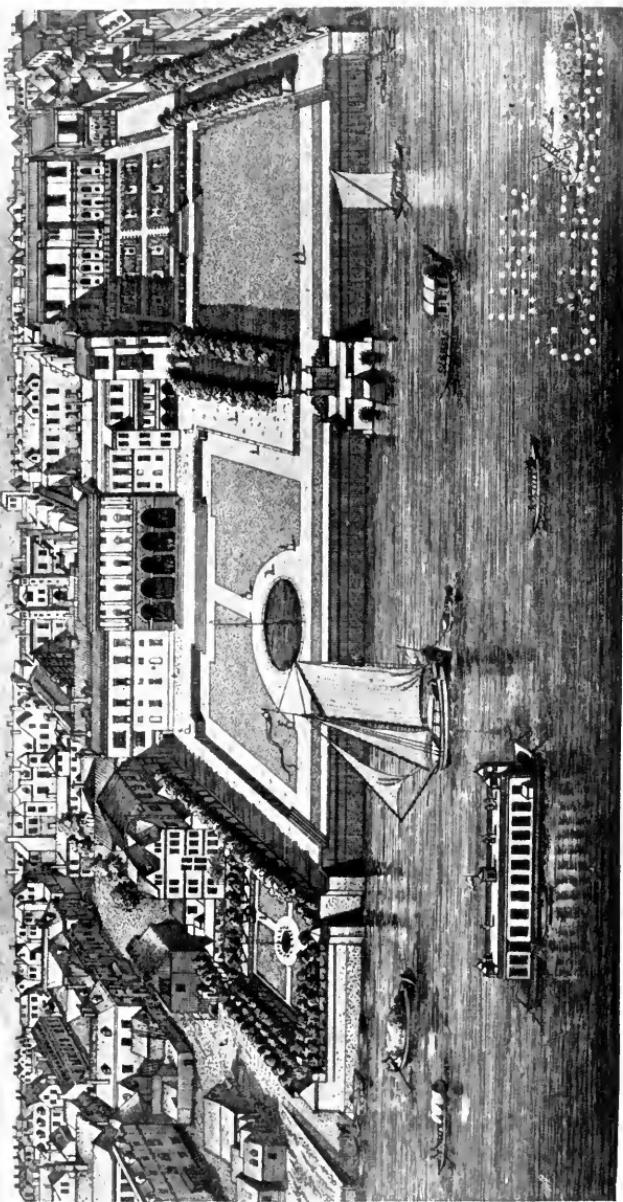
"They passed that building which of old
Queen-mothers was designed to hold ;
At present a mere lodging pen,
A palace turned into a den ;
To barracks turned, and soldiers tread
Where dowagers have laid their head."

of St. Paul's, was called in to make a complete survey of the fabric and site. He submitted a report to the Lords of the Treasury setting forth various defects and encroachments, and recommending their Lordships to deal with them. Probably as the result of this investigation, certain property appertaining to the Crown was granted to Charles Sackville, Earl of Dorset, courtier and poet, Lord Chamberlain to William III. from 1689 to 1697; for, some thirty years later, after another inquiry, Wren's successor in the office of Surveyor-General reported to the Lords of the Treasury that "in 1694 King William and Queen Mary, by letters patent, granted to the Earl of Dorset the inheritance of thirty-two tenements standing on several pieces of ground heretofore part of the lands belonging to Somerset House and adjoining the palace, the greatest part of which front the Strand." According to some writers, the buildings here referred to were disposed of in the time of Cromwell, but it is more likely that the whole of the property comprised in the Somerset House estate came back to the hands of the Crown at the Restoration. At any rate this gift to the Earl of Dorset must rank among the misfortunes of William's reign. Had it not been made, the site available for the erection of the modern building would not have had the disadvantage of so short a frontage to the Strand, and London would thus have gained for her most frequented street a large and imposing edifice.

A plan of Somerset House as it existed in 1706, shows that the main building was grouped round a quadrangle called the "Upper Court" next the Strand. In the southern front of this quadrangle were the Guard Chamber, with a waiting room, the Privy Chamber, and the Presence Chamber, out of which at its western end a flight of stone stairs led down to the garden. On the western side of the palace, from the Strand nearly to the river side, there ran along Duchy Lane a row of coach-houses, stables

VIEW OF RIVER FRONT, BY KNYFF, 1720.

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and store yards. Near the south-east angle of the Upper Court was a passage leading down the "Back Stairs" to a second or Lower Court, two storeys below the Upper Court. Here were the more private apartments of the Queen—the "Coffee Room," "Back Stair Room," "Oratory," "Dressing Room," "Bed Chamber," and "Withdrawing Room," the two last named facing the gardens and commanding a fine view of the river. Still farther eastward, extending over what is now part of the site of King's College as far as Strand Lane (formerly Strand Bridge Lane) were various other buildings chiefly occupied by members of the Court. These were called the French Buildings, and were connected with the "Yellow Room," the "Cross Gallery," and the "Long Gallery," which led to a pleasure opening on the gardens. The gardens were laid out formally, as they had been arranged when in 1662 the river frontage was built according to the designs of Inigo Jones. They are described, not altogether approvingly, by Pope in the lines:—

"Grove nods to grove, each alley has its brother,
And half the garden just reflects the other."

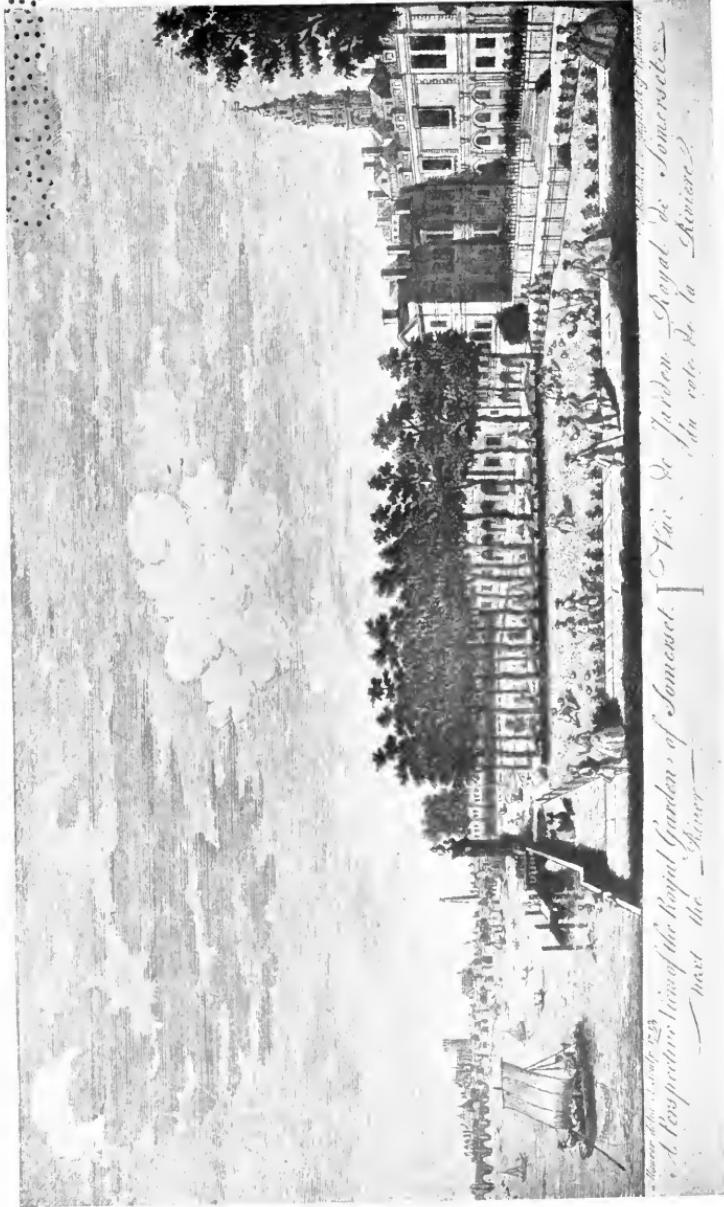
But his description is literally true. Opposite both the greater and the lesser quadrangle were squared gardens with straight paved walks. Three avenues of trees ran down to the river, along which had been built a heavy dwarf wall. A gateway in this wall led by a flight of steps to the water, and on either side of it was a sculptured panel of Tritons and Nereids. Moored opposite the stairs in mid-stream was a kind of house-boat known as *The Folly*. About this time it served the purposes of a coffee tavern, and was frequented by the wits and fashionables of the day. It eventually became so common and notorious that it was abolished by order of a local magistrate.

In yet another particular the Somerset House of the

eighteenth century resembled the Hampton Court of to-day. Its quadrangle and the grounds attached to it on the side of the river became places of resort, if not for the common people, at least for the known and worthy. In the garden was an excellent bowling-green, which we are told was available for the diversion of the citizens. The *Spectator* (No. 77) for Tuesday, May 29, 1711, pictures the kind of leisurely life now filling the scene of so much excitement in the past. "My friend Will Honeycomb," writes Budgell, "is one of those sort of men who are very often absent in conversation, and what the French call *à rêveur* and *à distrait*. A little before our club time last night, we were walking together in Somerset garden, where Will had picked up a small pebble of so odd a make, that he said he would present it to a friend of his, an eminent virtuoso. After we had walked some time, I made a full stop with my face towards the west, which Will, knowing to be my usual method of asking what's o'clock in an afternoon, immediately pulled out his watch, and told me we had seven minutes good. We took a turn or two more, when, to my great surprise, I saw him squirt away his watch a considerable way into the Thames, and with great sedateness in his looks put up the pebble he had before found in his fob. As I have naturally an aversion to much speaking, and do not love to be the messenger of ill news, especially when it comes too late to be useful, I left him to be convinced of his mistake in due time, and continued my walk, reflecting on these little absences and distractions in mankind, and resolving to make them the subject of a future speculation."

By a pathetic coincidence, Budgell, when some years later he was threatened with a prosecution, filled his pockets with stones in Somerset House garden and, taking a wherry at the stairs, rowed away, threw himself into the river and was drowned.

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Engraving of the Royal Garden of Somerset House, as it appeared in 1760, when the King had the pleasure of viewing it.

How many notabilities of Queen Anne's day walked like Budgell and his friend "Will Honeycomb" in Somerset garden before club time? How many played bowls on its famous lawn, sat with their ladies in the shade of its trees or the cool depth of Inigo Jones's piazza? Or, again, what political measures were planned while representative men awaited a boat to carry them to the House at Whitehall?

In the year 1715, by royal letters patent, Somerset House was settled upon Caroline of Anspach, Princess of Wales, with a dowry of £50,000 a year. But it is improbable that Caroline ever lived there, most of her time being spent at St. James's Palace, and at Leicester House (which stood on the site now occupied by the Empire Theatre of Varieties). Early in her tenure of Somerset House a masquerade arranged in celebration of a royal birthday, was the subject of an amusing paper contributed by Addison to the *Freeholder* (May 21, 1716):—

"My friend, who has a natural aversion to London, would never have come up had he not been subpoenaed to it, as he told me, to give his testimony for one of the rebels whom he knew to be a very fair sportsman. Having travelled all night to avoid the inconveniences of dust and heat, he arrived with his guide a little after break of day at Charing Cross; where to his great surprise he saw a running footman carried in a chair, followed by a waterman in the same kind of vehicle. He was wondering at the extravagance of their masters that furnished them with such dresses and accommodation, when on a sudden he beheld a chimney sweeper conveyed after the same manner with three footmen running before him. During his progress through the Strand he met with several other figures no less wonderful and surprising. Seeing a great many in rich morning gowns, he was amazed to find that persons of quality were up so early; and was no less astonished to see many lawyers

in their bar-gowns, when he knew by his almanack the term was ended. As he was extremely puzzled and confounded in himself what all this should mean, a hackney coach chancing to pass by him, four Batts popped out their heads all at once, which very much frightened both him and his horse. My friend, who always takes care to cure his horse of such starting fits, spurred him up to the very side of the coach, to the no small diversion of the Batts ; who seeing him with his long whip, horsehair perriwig, jockey-belt, and coat without sleeves, fancied him to be one of the masqueraders on horseback, and received him with a loud peal of laughter. His mind being full of idle stories which are spread up and down the nation by the disaffected, he immediately concluded that all the persons he saw in these strange habits were foreigners, and conceived a great indignation against them for pretending to laugh at an English county gentleman. But he soon recovered out of his error, by hearing the voices of several of them and particularly of a shepherdess quarrelling with the coachman and threatening to break his bones, in very intelligible English, though with a masculine tone. His astonishment still increased upon him to see a continued procession of harlequins, scaramouches, punchinellos, and a thousand other merry dresses, by which people of quality distinguish their wit from that of the vulgar.

“ Being now advanced as far as Somerset House, and observing it to be the great hive whence the swarm of chimoeras issued forth from time to time, my friend took his station among the cluster of the mob who were making themselves merry with their betters. The first that came out was a very venerable matron, with a nose and chin that were within a very little of touching one another. My friend at first view fancying her to be an old woman of quality, out of his good breeding took off his hat to her, when the person pulling off her mask, to his great surprise,

appeared a smock-faced young fellow. His attention was soon taken off from this object and turned to another, that had very hollow eyes and a wrinkled face, which flourished in all the bloom of fifteen. The whiteness of the lily was blended in it with the blush of the rose. He mistook it for a very whimsical kind of mask ; but upon a nearer view he found that she held her vizard in her hand, and that what he saw was only her natural countenance touched up with the usual improvements of an aged coquette.

“The next who showed herself was a female Quaker, so very pretty that he could not forbear licking his lips and saying to the mob about him, ‘It is ten thousand pities she is not a Churchwoman.’ The Quaker was followed by half a dozen nuns, who filed off one after another up Catherine Street, to their respective convents in Drury Lane.

“The squire observing the preciseness of their dress, began now to imagine after all that this was a nest of sectaries ; for he had often heard that the town was full of them. He was confirmed in this opinion upon seeing a conjuror, whom he guessed to be the holder-forth. However, to satisfy himself he asked a porter, who stood next to him, what religion these people were of ? The porter replied, ‘They are of no religion ; it is a masquerade.’ ‘Upon that,’ says my friend, ‘I began to smoke that they were a parcel of mummers’ ; and being himself one of the quorum in his own county, could not but wonder that none of the Middlesex justices took care to lay some of them by the heels. He was the more provoked in the spirit of magistracy upon discovering two very unseemly objects : the first was a judge who rapped out a great oath at his footman ; and the other a big-bellied woman, who, upon taking a leap into the coach, miscarried of a cushion. What still gave him greater offence was a drunken bishop, who reeled

from one side of the court to the other, and was very sweet upon an Indian queen. But his worship in the midst of his austerity was mollified at the sight of a lovely milk-maid, whom he began to regard with an eye of mercy, and conceived a particular affection for her, until he found to his great amazement that the standers-by suspected her to be a Duchess.

"I must not conclude this narrative without mentioning one disaster that happened to my friend on this occasion. Having for his better convenience dismounted and mixed among the crowd, he found upon his arrival at the inn, that he had lost his purse and his almanac. And though it is no wonder such a trick should be played upon him by some of the curious spectators, he cannot beat it out of his head but that it was a cardinal who picked his pocket, and that the Cardinal was a Presbyterian in disguise."

During Anne's reign the chapel built by Henrietta Maria was finally divested of its Roman character, and given over to the Established Church. It was first opened for the public celebration of divine service on Sunday, April 15, 1711. A regular minister was appointed by the Bishop of London as Dean of the Chapels Royal, and Somerset House Chapel was thereafter conducted in much the same manner as the Savoy Chapel of to-day. The first minister, the Rev. Mr. Ling, was succeeded by the Rev. Mr. Debat, to whom in 1734 were delivered "new Bibles, Prayer-books, and surplices for use in the chapel at a cost of £20." Dr. Lewis Bruce succeeded Mr. Debat in November, 1741, and continued in the office till the chapel was pulled down. Up to the year 1764 no stipend was attached to the ministry; but in that year the Bishop of London, at the suggestion of Dr. Bruce, surrendered his right of nomination to the Lord Chamberlain, who at once issued a warrant for the officiating preacher to be sworn

11/11/1967
CALIFORNIA



from Collier's Print. Vol. I.

by W. Redell, Exec'd

Maria Countess of Coventry

Engraved by W. Redell, Exec'd

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as Chaplain in Ordinary to the King, at a stipend of £100 per annum. This stipend was increased to £140 in 1769.

A register was kept of the marriages, baptisms, and burials which took place in the chapel between the years 1714 and 1775.¹ This register, though rich in curious interest, cannot be commended to present-day clergymen as a model. Several of the spaces are left blank, evidently not without a hope that the requisite particulars might some day be supplied, while in one place we read of "a marriage solemnised by Dr. Chapman, Archdeacon of Sudbury, who neither left the license nor the name of the couple." Among the marriages more carefully carried out are those of Sir John Shadwell, the celebrated physician, in 1726; of Edward Hawke, Esq., afterwards Admiral Lord Hawke, in 1737; of William de Grey, afterwards Baron Walsingham, in 1743; of Soane Jenyns, the wit, in 1754. On May 6, 1769, Robert Travis, bachelor, Allhallows, Lombard Street, married Catherine Gunning, spinster, of Somerset House; and on November 23rd following, the Rev. Henry Beauclerk, bachelor, of Somerset House, married Charlotte Drummond, spinster, of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields. Catherine Gunning, daughter of Mrs. Gunning, who for many years was housekeeper at Somerset House, and died there in 1770, was the youngest of three beautiful sisters. Of the other two, one became Countess of Coventry, and the second, Duchess of Hamilton. The Rev. Henry Beauclerk was a son of Lord Harry Beauclerk, who held apartments in Somerset House, and died there in 1761. Charlotte Drummond was a daughter of the principal at Drummond's Bank.

¹ The marriages, which number about 450, begin in 1714 and end in 1755. Only 36 baptisms are recorded, the first in 1732, the last in 1775; and 14 burials in the chapel vault, the first in 1720, the last in 1770.

Among the list of baptisms in 1770 occur those of Elizabeth Dorothea, daughter of Robert and Catherine Travis, and Henry, son of the Rev. Henry and Charlotte Beauclerk—issue, no doubt, of the marriages solemnised in the previous year. Although unrecorded in the chapel registers, the newspapers of 1730 give an account of the baptism at Somerset House Chapel, of a son of the chief of the Yamanses, a tribe of North American Indians, who was brought to England for his education by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. The rite was administered by the Bishop of London, Lady Conyers, Lord Carteret, and Abel Kettily, Esq., being the sponsors.

Burials took place occasionally in the vault beneath the chapel, but only by special order from the Lord Chamberlain. The last interment occurred in 1770, and at Michaelmas, 1775, the chapel was closed.

It is supposed that James Stuart, the elder "Pretender," was at one time secreted in Somerset House. There is an allusion to this belief in the *Town Spy* of 1725 : "The Pretender's residing at Somerset House in the year of peace was blabbed out by one of the Duke d'—s postilions."

When the Prince of Orange, successor in Holland to William III. of England, came over in 1734 to woo the Princess Anne, daughter of George II., he was lodged in the state apartments. But royal splendour had fallen from the old palace with the departure of Catherine of Braganza ; and although the building continued to be the appurtenance of successive Queens down to its dilapidation in 1775, none of them is known to have resided there.

Strype, in his revision of Stow's *Survey*, alludes to new buildings erected on the ground granted by William III. to the Earl of Dorset in 1694 as "a stately pile of brick houses on both sides of Somerset House which much eclipse

that palace, so that it is a pity it was not more beautiful, especially the part that fronts the High Street, which house being now of later Time in possession of the Crown, hath been used as the palace or court of the Queen Dowagers."¹ The erection of that "stately pile of brick houses" was the misfortune which spoiled the future Somerset House of a splendid frontage to the Strand.

In 1749 the palace was the scene of a highly fashionable subscription masquerade at which George II. and Augusta Princess of Wales were present. One of the sensations of this gathering was the appearance "in an almost primitive state" of the beautiful Maid of Honour, Elizabeth Chudleigh, afterwards Duchess of Kingston. "Miss Chudleigh," says Walpole in a letter to Sir Horace Mann, "was Iphigenia, but so naked you would have taken her for Andromeda." Despite his sixty-six years the King was still under the spell of this daring creature's charm, but his observations on her conduct have not been preserved. Several noblemen had already made her offers of marriage, and she astonished everybody by declining them. One of the rejected suitors, the Duke of Hamilton, was, however, so little put out by the refusal that he forthwith engaged himself to marry one of the three beautiful Miss Gunnings then residing at Somerset House. It subsequently came to light that beneath Miss Chudleigh's apparently inexplicable caprice lay the fact that she was already wedded to a gentleman of the Court. The Princess of Wales is said to have been so incensed by her maid's extraordinary behaviour at this Masquerade as herself to throw a thick veil about the thinly-clad figure. Perhaps it was then that Miss Chudleigh, alluding to a *liaison* supposed to exist between the Princess and Lord Bute, retorted, "Votre Altesse Royale sait que chacune a son But!" If,

¹ In the view of the procession of Scald Miserable Masons, the dwarfed effect of which Strype complains is unmistakable.

however, Iphigenia aroused the indignation of her royal mistress, she does not appear to have excited more contemporary criticism than many of the other notabilities present ; but it may be the Court had grown accustomed to such unblushing vagaries. At any rate Walpole passes her by with the cursory observation we have quoted, and proceeds to comment upon other characters : “The King was well disguised in an old-fashioned English habit, and much pleased with somebody who desired him to hold their cup as they were drinking tea. The Duke of Cumberland had a dress of the same kind, but was so immensely corpulent that he looked like Cacofogo, the drunken captain in *Rule a wife, and have a wife.* The Duchess of Richmond was a Lady Mayoress in the time of James I., and Lord De La Warr, Queen Elizabeth’s Porter, from a picture in the guard chamber at Kensington. They were admirable masks. Lady Rochefort, Miss Evelyn, Miss Bishop, Lady Stafford, and Mrs. Pitt were in vast beauty ; particularly the last, who had a red veil which made her look gloriously handsome. I forgot Lady Kildare. Mr. Conway was the Duke in *Don Quixote* and the finest figure I ever saw ; and Lady Betty Smithson had such a pyramid of baubles upon her head that she was exactly the Princess of Babylon in *Grammont.*

Another observant witness of the proceedings was Mrs. Elizabeth Montague, who, in a somewhat inconsequent letter to her sister on May 8, 1749, writes : “Pretty Mrs. Pitt looked as if she came from heaven, but was only on her road thither in the habit of a chanoinesse. Many ladies looked handsome and many rich : there was as great a quantity of diamonds as the town could produce. Mrs. Chandler was a starry night. The Duchess of Portland had no jewels. Lord Sandwich made a fine hussar. . . . I stayed till five o’clock in the morning at the masquerade and am not tired. I have never been quite well since ; but

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A MASQUERADE.
From an engraving attributed to Hogarth.

I had better luck than Miss Conway, who was killed by a draught of lemonade she drank there.” The fatality is celebrated in the following doggerel :—

“ Poor Jenny Conway !
She drank lemonade
At a masquerade !
And now she’s dead and gone away.”¹

From the date of this masquerade the palace appears to have settled down into its humdrum, lodging-pen existence until the year 1763, when the Venetian Ambassador made a grand public entry into London and was entertained at Somerset House with regal magnificence. This was perhaps the last occasion on which the palace exhibited the pageantry with which in a previous age it had been so often associated. Queen Charlotte, if she visited it at all, brought back but little of the life which surrounded the courts of her predecessors in the seventeenth century, and on all the vast edifice there appeared the evidences of neglect and decay. In January 1764, the Hereditary Prince of

¹ The print here used in illustration of the masquerade has been constantly, though very doubtfully, attributed to Wm. Hogarth. It was first published in 1804, and the painting from which the engraver, T. Cook, worked, is catalogued by J. B. Nichols as of uncertain date. The same authority quotes the following MS. explanation sold with a copy of this print by Mr. Sotheby, December, 1827, in Mr. John Yates’s collection. “The scene is laid at Somerset House. The lady on the left side playing at cards with her back towards the centre of the print is supposed to be the late Princess Amelia. Some foul play is suspected, as one is endeavouring to snatch the cards. The figure in the double mask is intended for the late Princess of Wales. The gentleman on the youthful side of the mask is intended for the Earl of Bute ; and the fat figure for the Duke of Cumberland. The middle figure in the black mask is Frederick, Prince of Wales. The figure in the dress of a Quaker by the fire is placed there to draw our attention to the figure on the opposite side intended for his gracious Majesty (George II.) in amorous parley with the fair Quaker ; and she appears to be retiring with her royal lover.”

We confess to scepticism both as to the artist and the explanation. Hogarth died in 1764, and the Princess Amelia was not born till twenty years later.

Brunswick Luneburg landed at Harwich and posted thence to Somerset House, where he lived quietly while engaged in negotiating his marriage with Augusta, daughter of George III. The Prince was the last royal personage lodged in the palace, which after his departure was partly utilised as a barracks. The more desirable apartments, however, were still reserved for the benefit of private residents. The lady holding the office of Housekeeper, Dr. Lewis Bruce, the Chaplain, and Mr. George Michael Moser, Keeper of the Royal Academy, lived in suites facing the river.

In 1771 the State apartments were granted to the newly-constituted Royal Academy for the accommodation of its schools of design, and there on January 14th of that year the academicians met in council and were honoured by the attendance of the Duke of Cumberland. The first official dinner of the Academy, which soon became and still continues one of the chief social events of the year, was held at Somerset House on St. George's Day, April 23, 1771. The invitations were limited to twenty-five, and the cost of the meal to five shillings per head. From the menu for the dinner of 1774 we learn that there were two courses, the first consisting of "fish, fowls, roast beef, pigeon pye, raised pye, ham, sallad, and greens"; the second of "lamb, goose, ducks, asparagus, and pudding." The wine, which was charged as an extra, was limited to port and Madeira; and there were also extra charges for "desert of fruit," "strange beer," "olives after supper," and for the waiters. The letter of an early student of the Academy schools gives some particulars of the establishment at this time: "In my last I promised you a description of the Royal Academy. It is in Somerset House, Strand, formerly a palace. There is one large room for the Plaster academy, one for the Life, where two men sit two hours each night by turns every week, and a large room in which lectures are given every Monday night by Dr. Hunter on Anatomy, Wale on

Perspective, Penny on Painting, and Thomas Sandby on Architecture ; and among many other apartments there is a choice library."¹ Though the school, the library, and the meetings of the Council were accommodated at Somerset House, the annual exhibition of pictures continued to be held at the Academy's rooms in Pall Mall until 1780.

The last housekeeper at Somerset House was Mrs. Charlotte Lennox, once a novelist of repute and friend of Dr. Johnson. Her best known work, *The Female Quixote; or, the Adventures of Arabella*, was warmly praised by Fielding,² and Johnson himself reviewed it in the *Gentleman's Magazine*.³ Indeed, there is plentiful evidence that Johnson, in his admiration of Mrs. Lennox's singular talent, was in danger of losing his head. He introduced her to the society of Samuel Richardson, and it can scarcely be doubted that among the visitors to her apartments at Somerset House were numbered the authors of *Clarissa Harlowe* and *Tom Jones*, as well as the great lexicographer. When the palace was demolished Mrs. Lennox received no recompense for the loss of her rooms ; her fame as a writer quickly waned, and in the later years of her life she was reduced by continual sickness to a condition of extreme poverty.

In May, 1775, Parliament was recommended in a message from the Crown to settle upon Queen Charlotte the house in which she then resided, formerly called Buckingham House, but afterwards known as the Queen's House ; in which case Somerset House, which had been settled upon her in 1761, would be given up and appropriated to such purposes as should be found most useful to the State. Parliament accepted the King's offer, and

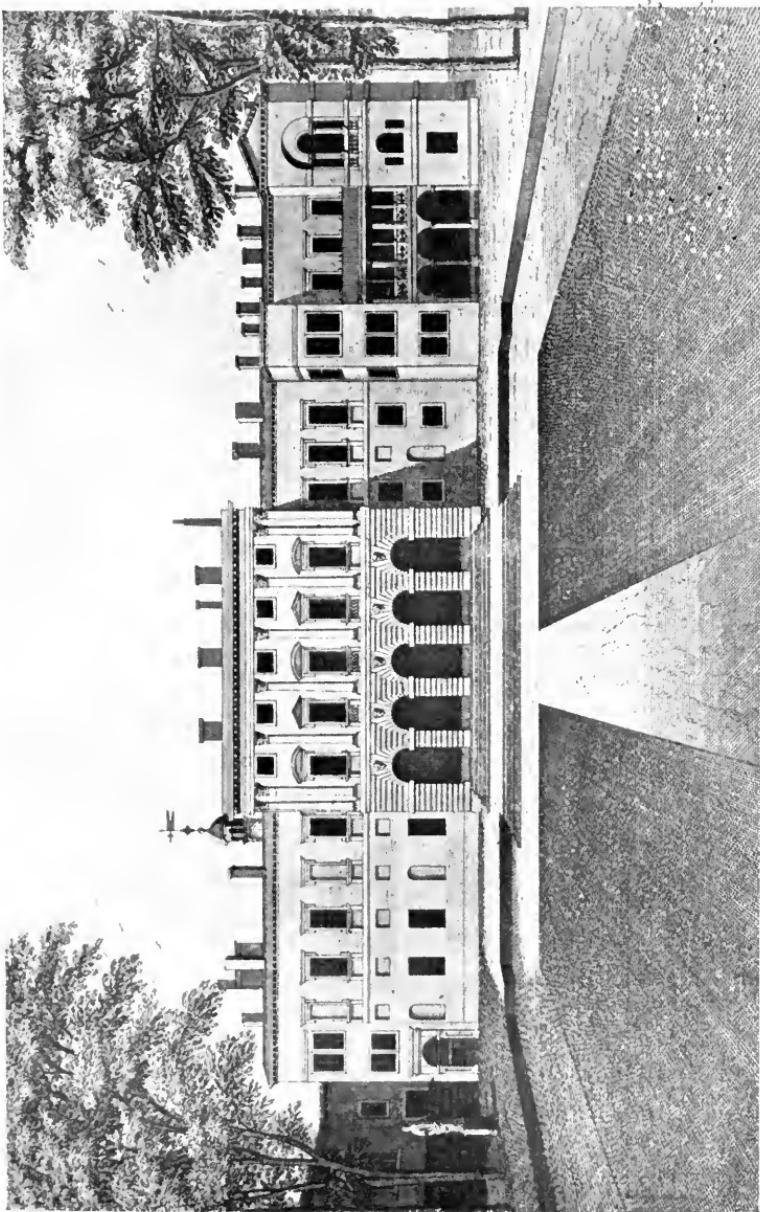
¹ John Deare to his parents, March 24, 1777. (See *Nollekens and his Times*.)

² *Voyage to Lisbon*.

³ Vol. xxii. 146.

imposed upon Sir William Chambers, the Surveyor-General, the task of rebuilding the ruined palace for the public service.

A description of old Somerset House just prior to its disappearance is given in John Northouck's *History of London*, published in 1773: "On the south side of the Strand is the old palace called Somerset House, which, though so far neglected as to be permitted to fall to ruin in some of the back parts, is reckoned one of the Royal palaces, and as such is settled on our present Queen for life. . . . The front in the Strand is adorned with columns and other decorations, which are much defaced by time and the smoak of the City, the principal ornament having mouldered away. This front, together with the Quadrangle, seem to have been the first attempts to restore the ancient architecture in England. In the middle is a handsome gate which opens into the Quadrangle, the inner front of which is adorned with a piazza, perhaps more in taste than any other in the kingdom of the same antiquity, and the whole building on this side has an air of grandeur. The most beautiful front is the back of this toward the garden, situated upon an elevation, part of which was new built by Inigo Jones, with a fine piazza and lofty apartments over it : the stairs and gate to the water show where he intended the centre. His design being left unfinished, the building towards the garden is very irregular, some of the old edifice being left standing, or rather, falling, on that side. The garden was adorned with statues, shady walks, and a bowling green, but as none of the royal family have resided here since Queen Catherine, dowager of Charles II., several of the officers of the Court and its dependants are permitted to lodge in it ; and great part of it has been lately used as barracks for soldiers. The garden, after being spoiled by the exercising of recruits in it, has been shut up and totally neglected."



THE RIVER FRONT.
From the engraving by B. Cole.

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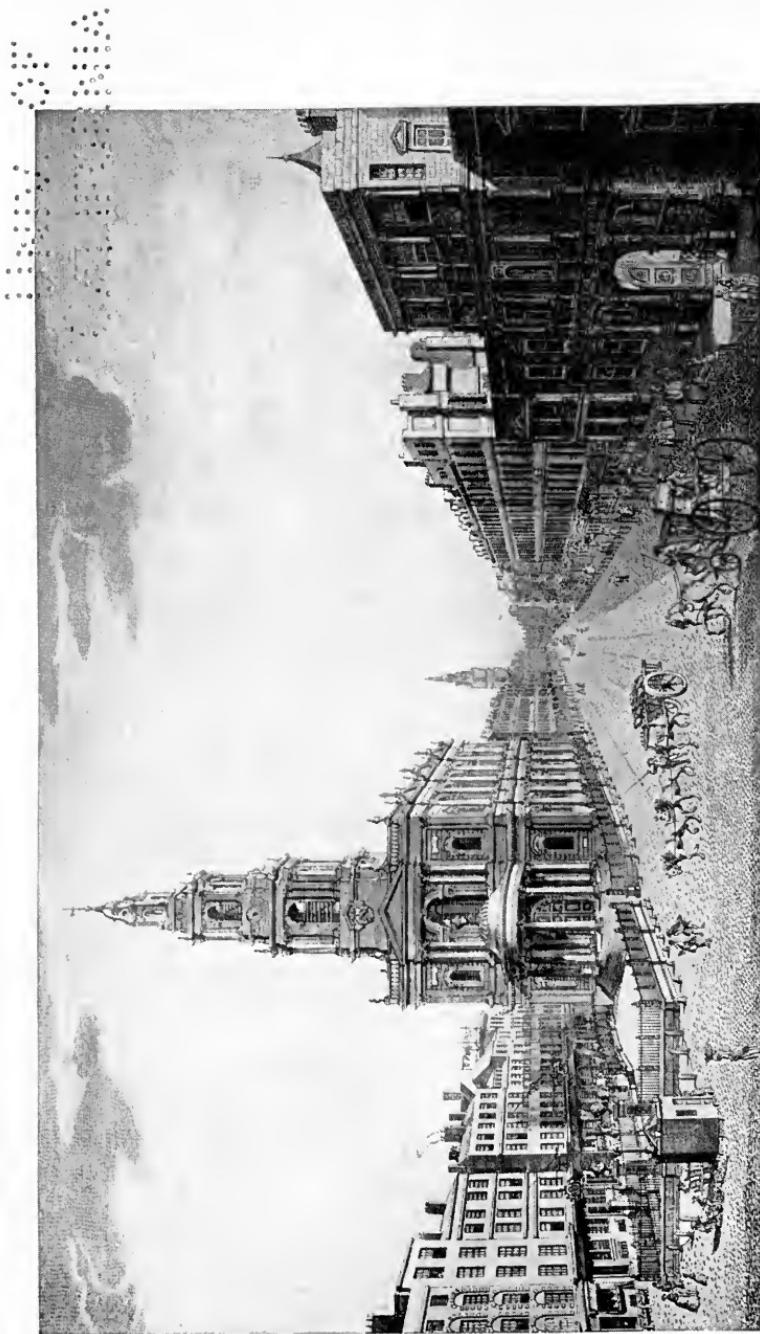
A writer during the earlier decades of last century thus describes the surroundings of the Palace : "There are many," he observes, "who recollect the venerable aspect of the courtway from the Strand as well as the dark and winding steps which led down to the garden for years suffered to run to decay, and where the ancient and lofty trees spread a melancholy aspect over the neglected boundary by no means unpleasing to the visitor, who in a few moments could turn from noise and tumult to stillness and peace." This garden, as we have already seen, was divided into two parts. One of these, known indifferently as the flower-garden and the water-garden, was bounded on two sides by the walls of the palace, on the east by the wall which ran along Strand Lane, and on the south by a palisade. It formed a terrace, to which access was gained from the other part of the garden by a flight of steps leading through a gateway in the palisade. Both this garden and the larger one fronting the river were laid out geometrically, and ornamented with statuary. Joseph Moser, in a paper contributed to the *European Magazine*, particularises a statue in brass of Cleopatra with a snake environing her arm and fixed upon her breast, and in her other hand a cap. "I can remember," he continues, "the stone pedestals of the statues standing in their proper places ; the miserably mutilated remainder of others were placed against the west wall, but so corroded and dilapidated that it was impossible to discern what they had been or to what the remains belonged. In the centre of the western quarter of the garden was a large basin ; there had been a fountain, which was now dry, however. The water-gate, which fell in the general dissolution of the building, was esteemed beautiful, and adorned with figures of Thames and Isis."

The same writer has left us a vivid picture of the interior as it appeared when Sir William Chambers surveyed it

before the final demolition. “ At the extremity of the Royal Apartments, which might be termed semi-modern, two large folding doors connected the architecture of Inigo Jones with the ancient structure : these opened into a long gallery on the first floor of a building which occupied one side of the water garden ; at the lower end of which was another gallery, or suite of apartments, which made an angle forming the original front towards the river, and extending to Strand Lane. This old part of the mansion had long been shut up (it was haunted of course) when Sir William Chambers, wishing or being directed to survey it, the folding-doors of the Royal bed-chamber (the Keeper’s drawing-room) were opened, and a number of persons entered with the Surveyor. The first of the apartments, the long gallery, was observed to be lined with oak, in small panels ; the heights of their mouldings had been touched with gold ; it had an oaken floor and stuccoed ceiling, from which still depended part of the chains, &c., to which had hung chandeliers. Some of the sconces remained against the sides, and the marks of the glasses were still to be distinguished upon the wainscot.

“ From several circumstances it was evident that this gallery had been used as a ball-room. The furniture which had decorated the royal apartments had, for the conveniency of the Academy, and perhaps prior to that establishment, been removed to this and the adjoining suite of apartments. It was extremely curious to observe thrown together in the utmost confusion various articles, the fashion and forms of which showed that they were the production of different periods. In one part were the vestiges of a throne and canopy of State ; in another curtains for the audience chamber, which had once been crimson velvet, fringed with gold. What remained of the fabric had, except in the deepest folds, faded to an olive colour ; all the fringe and lace but a few threads and spangles had been ripped

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OLD SOMERSET HOUSE AND THE CHURCH OF ST. MARY LE STRAND.

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off ; the ornaments of the chairs of State demolished ; and stools, couches, screens, and fire-dogs broken and scattered about in a state of derangement which might have tempted a philosopher to moralise upon the transitory nature of sublunary splendour and human enjoyments. With respect to the gold and silver which were worked in the borders and other parts of the tapestries with which the royal apartments were, even within my remembrance, hung, it had been carefully picked out while those rooms were used as barracks. Some very elegant landscapes, beautifully wove in tapestry, adorned the library of the Royal Academy until the dissolution of the building.¹

“ To return from this short digression to the gallery, I must observe that treading in dust that had been for ages accumulating, we passed through the collection of ruined furniture to the suite of apartments which I have already stated formed the other side of the angle and fronted the Thames. In these rooms, which had been adorned in a style of splendour and magnificence creditable to the taste of the age of Edward the Sixth, part of the ancient furniture remained, and, indeed, from the stability of its materials and construction, might have remained for centuries had proper attention been paid to its preservation. The audience chamber had been hung with silk, which was in tatters, as were the curtains, gilt leather covers, and painted screens. There was in this and a much longer room a

¹ “ I have frequently contemplated this tapestry with sensations of pleasure arising from the elegance of the designs and the perfection of the workmanship. It beautifully ornamented the building of Inigo Jones, and was, I have no doubt, the production of French looms. The composition of the landscapes seemed to be of the school of Gasper Poussin. The tapestries in the other apartments, which had been taken down long before the Royal Academy was established, displayed historical subjects.” The tapestries here referred to were doubtless introduced during the reign of Charles II. When the Crown relinquished the palace, only the finest tapestries were preserved, the remainder being sold to private individuals and dealers. Many years after this sale strips of tapestry from Somerset House were still procurable at a shop in Long Acre.

number of articles which had been removed from other apartments, and the same confusion and appearance of neglect was evident. Some of the sconces, though reversed, were still against the hangings ; and one of the brass gilt chandeliers still depended from the ceiling. Passing through these rooms a pair of doors near the eastern extremity, with difficulty opened, gave access to an apartment upon the first floor of a small pile which formed a kind of tower at the end of the old building, and the internal part of which was unquestionably the work of Inigo Jones. This had been used as a breakfast or dressing room by Catherine, the Queen of Charles the Second, and had more the appearance of a small temple than a room ; it was of an octagonal form, and the ceiling rose in a dome from a beautiful cornice. There appeared such an elegant simplicity in the architecture, and such a truly Attic grace in the ornaments, that Sir William Chambers exceedingly regretted the necessity there was for its dilapidation. The figures painted upon the panels were in fresco ; the ornaments under the surbase were, in their heights, touched with gold. The few articles of furniture that remained here were in the antique style, and there were several pictures upon the ground, but except one, which seemed adapted to the panel over the chimney, they were not judged to have belonged to this apartment. A small door opened out of this room upon the staircase, and, when you had descended to the ground floor, on the right hand side of the passage was an apartment of octagonal form lined entirely with marble, in the interior closets of which were a hot and a cold bath. The latter had, I believe, been a short time before used by the inhabitants of the palace, and was, I have no doubt, supplied by the same spring that was afterwards transferred to the Surrey Street Baths. The general state of this building, its mouldering walls and decaying furniture, broken casements, falling roof, and the long range of its uninhabited and uninhabitable

apartments, presented to the mind in strong, though gloomy, colours a correct picture of those dilapidated castles, the haunts of spectres and residence of magicians and murderers, which have since the period to which I allude made such a figure in romance.”¹

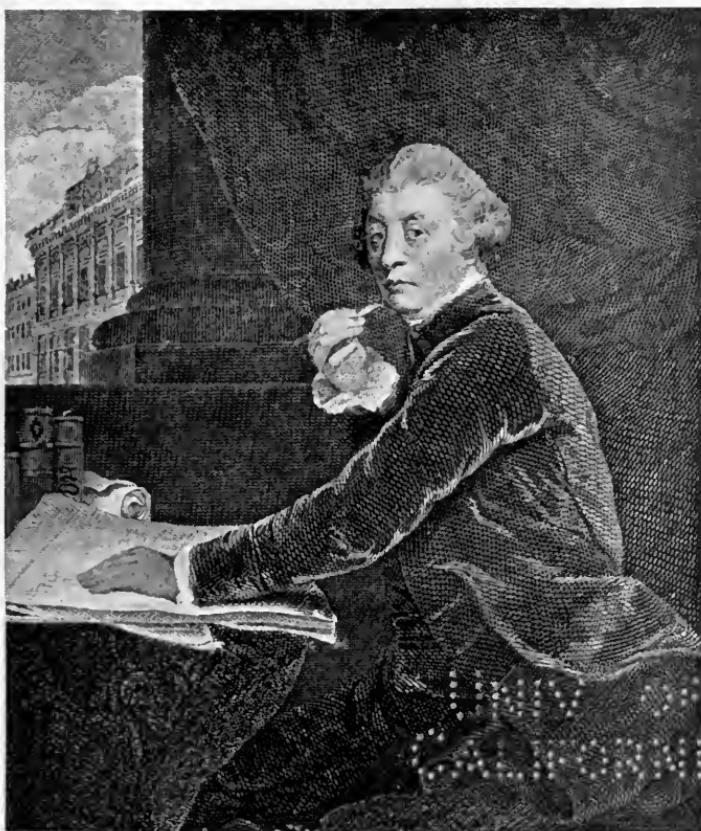
¹ *Vestiges: European Magazine*, August, 1802.

CHAPTER V

THE NEW BUILDING

OF the noble mansions which once won glory for the Strand, only Somerset House remains. The Fire of 1666 stopped short at Temple Bar ; yet had it continued as far as Charing Cross and destroyed the palaces which stood along the river, the whole aspect of the waterside could not have undergone a more complete transformation than has taken place since Wren rebuilt London. Unlike the neighbouring houses of York, Durham, Exeter, Arundel, and Savoy, Somerset House did not finally disappear when the old fabric was demolished. Phœnix-like it rose again in greater splendour ; and the edifice which replaced the ambitious failure of the Lord Protector takes rank among the first examples of classic architecture in the eighteenth century.

On December 25, 1775, Sir William Chambers, Surveyor-General of the King's Works, was appointed to carry into execution an Act of Parliament, 15 Geo. III., intituled : “An Act for settling Buckingham House with the appurtenances thereof upon the Queen in case she shall survive His Majesty in lieu of His Majesty's palace of Somerset House, for enabling the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury to sell and dispose of Ely House in Holbourn, and for applying the money to arise by the sale thereof in



W^m Chambers

From the painting by Sir Joshua Reynolds.

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BIBLIOGRAPHY

erecting and establishing public offices at Somerset House, and for embanking certain parts of the River Thames lying within the bounds of the Manor of the Savoy, and for other purposes therein mentioned."

For some time prior to this date the need of better accommodation for the Royal Academy, the Royal Society, and certain Government Departments had been acutely felt ; and a Mr. Robinson, Secretary of the Board of Works, had prepared designs for a new building on the site of old Somerset House. These designs, as might be expected, were little better than builder's drawings for a plain substantial structure, commodious enough to meet requirements, but without pretension to the just proportion and disposition of parts which distinguish true architecture. At this juncture Edmund Burke and other men of taste urged the propriety of making so vast and expensive a scheme at once an object of national splendour as well as of official convenience, and the Government of the day exercised a wise judgment in requisitioning the abilities of Sir William Chambers, to supersede the tasteless ineptitude of the departmental builder. Mr. Robinson's designs were laid aside,¹ and Chambers prepared an entirely new series which was duly approved and ordered to be carried out. These designs embraced the whole of the area now covered by Somerset House and King's College, but were subsequently curtailed owing to lack of funds. The site was partly cleared, and the first stone of the present building was laid in 1776.

Sir William Chambers, to whom we must now turn, was born at Stockholm in 1726. When two years old he was brought by his father, a man of considerable means, to Ripon in Yorkshire, where the family owned an estate.

¹ Actually they were handed to Sir William Chambers, but were found to be of no service, and were not in any way embodied in the new scheme.

At the age of sixteen he began life as a supercargo in the service of the Swedish East India Company, and in that capacity visited China, where he appears to have made a systematic study of Chinese architecture and costume. Two years later, resolving to devote himself to architecture, he quitted the sea and made a prolonged stay in Italy, studying the buildings and writings of Palladio, Michael Angelo, Vignola, Scamozzi, Sangallo, Bernini, and other masters of the Classic style. On his return to England he had the good fortune to be introduced to Augusta, Princess dowager of Wales, who sought a young architect to decorate her villa at Kew. Chambers secured the commission, and between 1757 and 1762 indulged his taste in both the Chinese and the Classic styles. The Pagoda and several diminutive Roman temples adorning what are now Kew Gardens represent his work at this period. These edifices attracted considerable attention, and unquestionably pleased his royal patrons, with whom he stood in high favour. He was employed to teach architectural drawing to the Prince of Wales (afterwards George III.), and in 1759 issued the *Treatise of Civil Architecture*, which, notwithstanding some defects, has remained a standard text-book for architectural students. At the institution of the Royal Academy in 1768 Chambers played a prominent part, and was elected its first treasurer. In 1772 he published a *Dissertation on Oriental Gardening*, which brought upon him a torrent of satire and abusive criticism. But his influence at Court and his position as Surveyor-General were alone sufficient to secure him the opportunity of rebuilding Somerset House, when, in 1775, that project was brought forward. He received a salary of £2,000 a year for the work, which was still unfinished when he died at his house in North Street, St. Marylebone, March 8, 1796. He lies buried in the Poets' Corner of Westminster Abbey.

A large collection of the plans, details, and working

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PERSPECTIVE OF STRAND FRONT.

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drawings for the building of Somerset House, now preserved in the Soane Museum, bears witness to the extraordinary patience and industry displayed by the architect in contriving his edifice to suit the multifarious needs of so many different establishments. It is evident that sectional plans were submitted for the approval of each of the public offices concerned, and that so far as was practicable the peculiar requirements of each were separately considered before the scheme as a whole was proceeded with. The uncertainty as to the ultimate extent of the interior, combined with the natural difficulties of the site, led to the rejection of several ambitious designs before the present plan was adopted. In one of these rejected designs the roadway under the Strand front led to a rectangular courtyard, on the farther side of which it passed under the building into a large elliptical courtyard having an outlet towards the river. On the east and west of this courtyard were two other courtyards of elliptical shape communicating with the main courtyard through vestibules or carriage ways similar to the main entrance from the Strand. Another plan provided for a river façade with a deeply-recessed centre and one square courtyard flanked by two narrow rectangular ones. This differed only in detail from the selected design, except as regards the frontage to the river; but as the elevations of none of the trial plans were worked out, it is difficult to judge in what degree they might have excelled the one eventually chosen.

While the building operations were being carried out the designs were subjected to many severe criticisms. The journals and other publications of the time strongly animadverted upon the rising structure; and there can be little doubt that the architect needed all the solace of his friendship with Dr. Johnson, Goldsmith, Reynolds, Garrick, and other men of eminence, to prevent these attacks from interfering with his plans. Especially

violent were the contributions of an engraver named Williams, who figures under a *nom-de-guerre* as Antony Pasquin ; but Pasquin was imperfectly acquainted with the subject of his abuse, and some years later his errors were effectually exposed.

Good progress was made in the work of construction during the first four or five years. By February, 1779, the scaffolding had been removed from the Strand front, and towards the end of the year much of the northern block designed to accommodate the Royal Academy, the Royal, and other learned societies, was ready for occupation. On May 1, 1780, Sir William Chambers submitted to the House of Commons a lengthy report on the state of the operations at that date. It furnishes a clear record of the progress of the building, and an interesting commentary on the difficulties which the architect was called upon to surmount :—

“ The building which faces the Strand, extends in front 135 feet, is 61 feet deep, and has two wings, each 46 feet wide and 42 feet in depth, the whole being seven storeys high ; it is faced with Portland stone, built with hard greystock bricks, Russian timber, and the best materials of all kinds. All the fronts of this structure are decorated with a rustic arcade basement, a Corinthian order of columns and pilasters, enriched windows, balustrades, statues, masks, medallions, and various other ornamental works necessary to distinguish this principal and most conspicuous part of the design ; which, being in itself trifling when compared with the whole, required not only particular forms and proportions, but likewise some profusion of ornaments to mark its superiority. Decorations, too, have been more freely employed in the vestibule of entrance, and in all the public apartments of this building, than will be necessary in the remainder of the work ; because the vestibule, open to the most frequented street in London, is





PERSPECTIVE OF THE TERRACE.

5c face page 195.

a general passage to every part of the whole design ; and the apartments are intended for the reception of useful learning and polite arts, where it is humbly presumed specimens of elegance should at least be attempted. The work just described forms the upper part (or north side) of a large quadrangular court, being in width 210 and in depth 296 feet, which is to be surrounded with buildings 54 feet deep and six storeys high, containing the Navy, the Navy Pay, the Victualling, and the Sick and Hurt Offices, the Ordnance Offices, the Stamp, Salt, and Tax Offices, the Surveyor-General of Crown Lands, and the Offices of the Duchies of Lancaster and Cornwall, also the Offices of the two auditors of Imprests and the Pipe, the Treasurer's Remembrancer, the Clerk of the Estreats, and Comptroller of the Pipe, with various apartments for secretaries and other persons whose residences in the several offices has been judged convenient for the Public Service. All these buildings surrounding the said court are now raised two storeys high (excepting at one corner where the old palace yet standing has prevented it) ; they have two floors laid on and the third storey carried up to a considerable height on all, the which forms the bottom of the court, and at the same time makes a considerable portion of the great river front, which when finished is, according to the general design, to extend in length 600 feet.

"This work is likewise all faced with stone, is built of the best materials in the most substantial manner possible, and set on brick foundations, a great part of them laid in the bed of the river, with various expensive but necessary precautions, and others sunk through loose-made ground 10, 12, and even 16 feet deep. The greatest part of the vaults, too, surrounding the areas of this large quadrangle, are turned, as also a great part of the cross-passage of communication from the areas on one side to those on the other, which are all built of hard greystocks, with stone

plinths necessarily set in most parts on very deep brick foundations.

“Beside the progress made in the extensive works already mentioned, the foundations are laid at considerable expense in the river for the embankment, to the extent 438 feet by a width of 46 feet, upon which is raised a rustic granite basement, 13 feet 7 inches high with a range of arched stone galleries and apartments built thereon, all to the same extent, and at this time raised in parts to the height of 18 feet 1 inch, and in others to the height of 28 feet, having one floor already laid on, and the centres ready to set for turning the arches which are to support the street of the terrace.

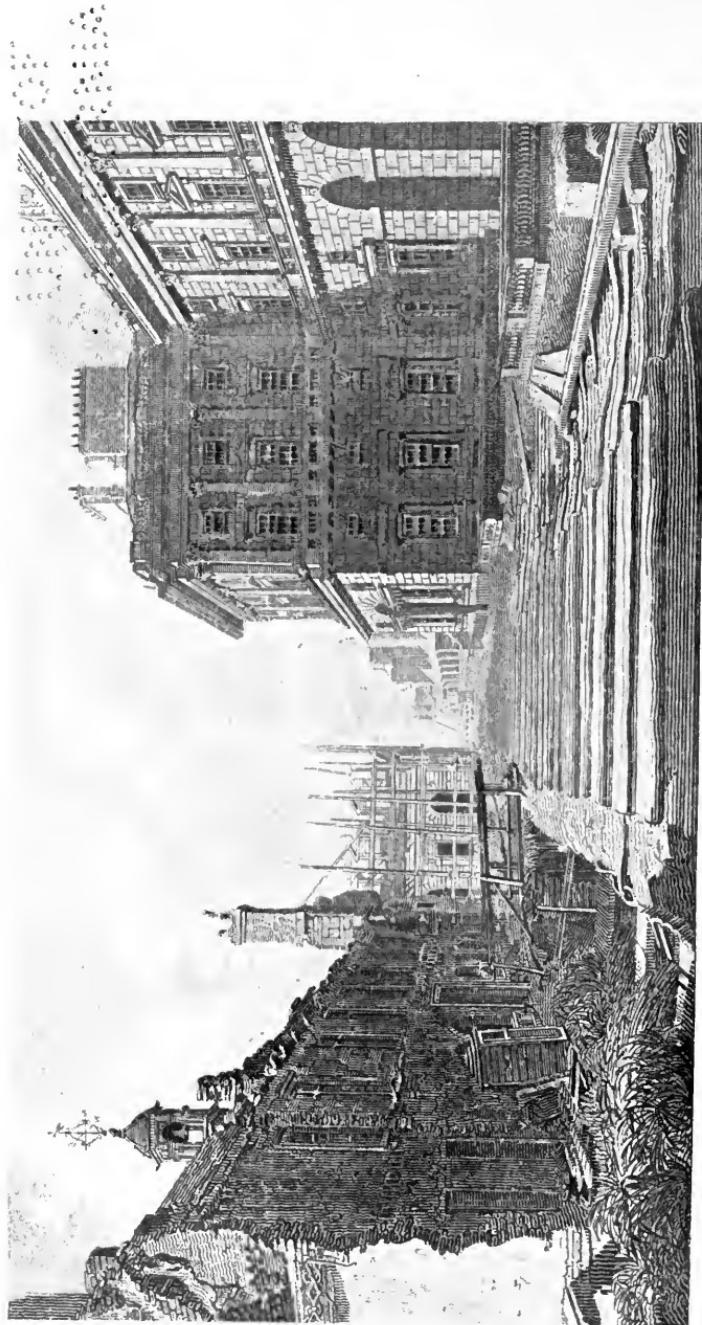
“The building now erecting on the site of Somerset House is of a very uncommon kind, unusually extensive, intricately complicated, and attended with many and great difficulties in the execution ; whence it was at first, and is even yet, impossible to form an exact estimate of the expense. As far, however, as the architect’s judgment and experience can guide him, he thinks it will certainly not exceed £250,000.”

A drawing made not many months after the presentation of this report shows the southern front of the completed block next the Strand and a part of the west wing still in the scaffolds. All that remained of the old palace stands gloomy and ruinous on the left of the picture. From this time the work was advanced as quickly as the appropriation of funds would allow. A resolution of the House of Commons dated June 1, 1780, granted £25,000 for buildings at Somerset House, another of May 21, 1782, £36,000, and a third in 1784, £25,000 ; but in succeeding years the official parsimony interfered seriously with the advancement of the work, and though at the time of the architect’s death, in 1796, the result of his long task no longer remained in doubt, Malcolm, in his *London and Westminster*, issued at that time, describes the building as “far from complete, and little progress made since the com-



THE LAST OF THE OLD PALACE,

To face page 197.



mencement of the war, the exigencies of the Government having diverted to other purposes the sum of £25,000 which for several years had been annually voted for its continuance."

Precisely at what date the structure may be regarded as having passed out of the builder's hands it is impossible to determine, as for some years payments continued to be made for the finishing of various details. Malcolm's statement doubtless had in view the plans for the whole site, many of which could not be found even during the first decade of last century; but by the time his book was issued the complete scheme had been definitely abandoned, and drawings of the building made as early as 1790 show that with the exception of the bronze group the quadrangle was then complete. Accounts preserved at the Record Office give particulars of the sums expended up to December 25, 1801, and as late as 1819 decorative work was still being done upon the internal north façade.

In March, 1790, estimates for the completion of the building were laid before the House of Commons. They show that sums amounting to £334,703 had already been expended, and that £33,500 were required to finish what had been begun. Ten years previously the architect had named £250,000 as a liberal estimate of the cost, and ten years later even the larger amount had been found inadequate. Probably if an accurate account of all the expenses could be given it would not fall far short of £500,000. And this sum represents the outlay upon the river façade, the east and west wings, and the north block only. King's College and the Inland Revenue Office in Lancaster Place belong to a later day.

The frontage to the Strand is composed of a rustic basement of nine arches supporting ten Corinthian columns on pedestals, and crowned by a central attic flanked on each side by a balustrade. The order embraces two storeys.

Colossal masks emblematic of ocean and eight principal rivers of England are carved in alto-relievo upon the keystones of the arches. Medallions of George III., Queen Charlotte, and the Prince of Wales figure in the entablatures above the three central windows of the first storey. The attic is divided into three parts by the sculptured figures of four men in senatorial robes ; on their heads is the cap of liberty, each holds in one hand a *fasces*, or bundle of reeds, bound together in illustration of the strength derived from unity, while in their other hands they sustain respectively the scales, the mirror, the sword, and the bridle, emblems of justice, prudence, valour, and moderation. The central division of the attic was left plain for an inscription, but none has been inserted ; the two side divisions contain elliptical windows decorated with festoons of oak and laurel. Surmounting the whole is a trophy of the Bristol arms supported by figures of Fame and the Genius of England. Of the nine basement arches the three central ones are open and give access to the interior courtyard. The three on each side of this entrance are occupied by windows of the Doric order ornamented with pilasters, entablatures, and pediments. The windows of the second storey are enriched with decorations of the Ionic order, and those of the third storey, which are square, are finished with plain mouldings.

The three open arches lead in the first place to a vestibule connecting the Strand with the courtyard. In this vestibule to the right is the doorway opening into the apartments designed for the Royal Academy, and to the left another leading to the rooms allotted to the Royal Society and the Society of Antiquaries. The vestibule itself is decorated with columns of the Doric order, the entablature of which carries a vaulted ceiling adorned with the ciphers of the reigning house, sculptures from the antique, and other enrichments.

The frontage of this part of the building towards the





BRONZE GROUP IN QUADRANGLE.

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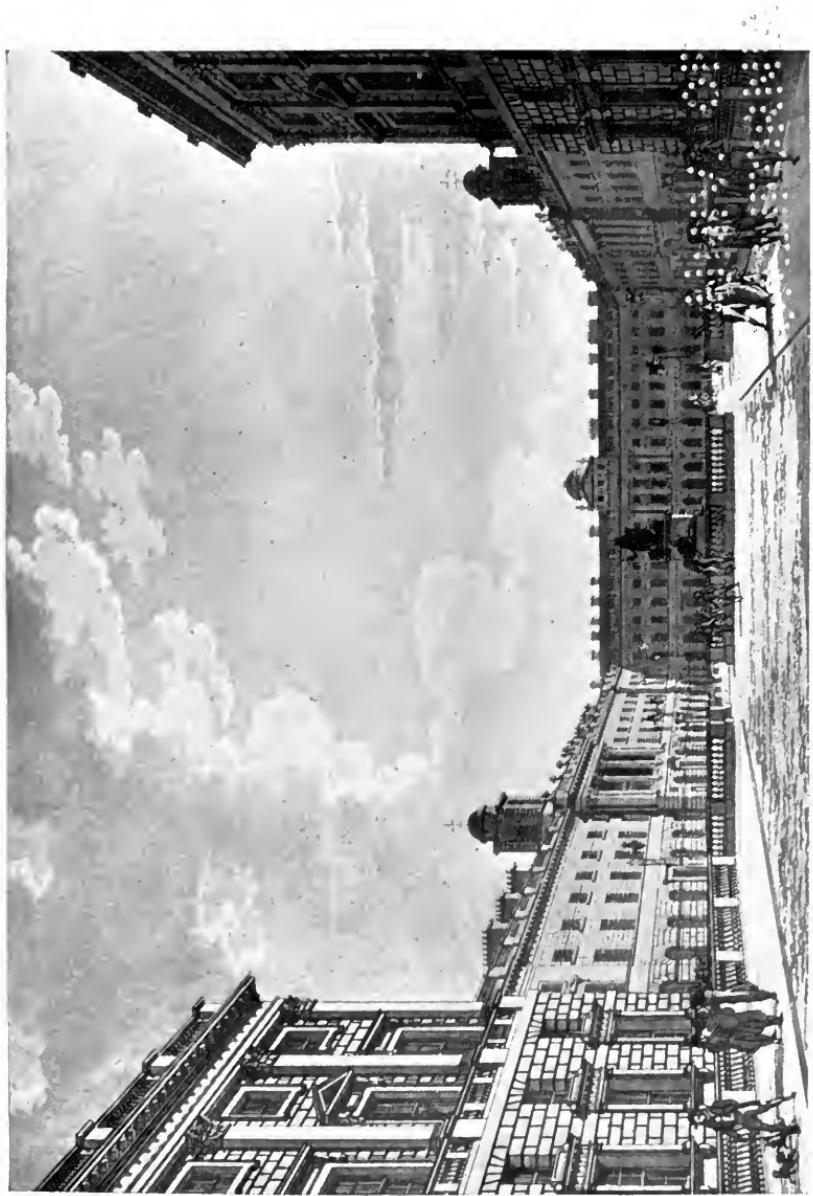
courtyard is some 200 feet in length, and differs little in the style of its decorations from the Strand front. Pilasters are used instead of columns in the central division, which is recessed, and in the side division of the wings; and four Corinthian columns with entablature ornament the front divisions of each wing. Statues emblematic of the four quarters of the globe—America armed, and breathing defiance, the rest bearing tributary fruits—divide the attic into three parts, each of which is pierced by an elliptical window ; and surmounting the whole are the British arms on a cartel surrounded by seaweeds and supported by tritons holding a festoon of netting filled with fish and other marine productions. Crowning the front of each wing is a group composed of an antique altar and two sphinxes, judiciously contrived to screen the chimneys. On the keystones of the three arches of entrance are masks representing the Lares, or tutelar deities of the place.

Facing the vestibule, and protected in front by a deep balustraded area, is a group in bronze upon a stone pedestal. A colossal figure of Neptune or Father Thames reclines with his arm upon an urn. At his back is a cornucopia, and behind that again, on a higher plane, is a figure of George III. in Roman garb leaning upon a rudder, with a lion couchant on the one side and the prow of a Roman vessel on the other.

The east, west, and south sides of the Quadrangle correspond in their severe and massive character. The central space or courtyard is supported at the Strand level by lofty vaults used for purposes of storage, and around it runs an area with an average width of 10 feet and a depth of 25 feet, protected by a balustrade and admitting light and air to the two storeys of the building which constitute its basement. The principal features of the east and west façades are alike : above the central doorway is a colonnade of the Corinthian order embracing the second and third storeys, and supporting

above its entablature a balustrade, upon which are disposed six urns, corresponding with the six members of the colonnade ; over the whole rises a small clock tower. The central division of the south front, though similar, is somewhat more elaborate. In this the entablature is supported by four columns and four pilasters of the Corinthian order, and the windows behind the columns are recessed. Over the roof rises a cupola the base of which is screened by an angular pediment. In the tympanum of the pediment is a large basso-relievo of a sea-nymph drawn by sea-horses and guarded by tritons supporting the arms of the British navy. Naval trophies are also grouped at the outer angles of the pediment.

The appearance of the river front has been much altered by the construction of Waterloo Bridge and the Victoria Embankment. A solid base of granite masonry, built up beyond the level of high water, supports a massive rustic arcade upon which is laid a terrace, 46 feet wide, running from end to end of the façade. The granite base was broken in the centre, and the space spanned by a broad arch formerly admitting the passage of boats to an entrance under the Navy Office used by the King's barge-master, who occupied apartments under the terrace. The archway with its finely-sculptured keystone, emblematic of the Thames, is still a notable feature, though since the construction of the Victoria Embankment, its original purpose is not apparent. The eighth arch on each side of this central arch was also open to the river, and formed a landing-place for the warehouses and offices in the basement. On either side of these landing-places stand rusticated columns surmounted by square projections ornamented with sculptured festoons, and flanked by colossal figures of lions couchant. Above the terrace, which is on a level with the interior courtyard, the main structure rises in three storeys. The centre and wings are slightly advanced, but the large effect of solemnity and



THE QUADRANGLE FROM THE VESTIBULE.

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repose remains undisturbed. In the centre of the façade the principal feature of the south front of the quadrangle is repeated ; and in each of the wings, opposite the subsidiary landing-places under the terrace, is an archway, and, above the archway, an open colonnade with entablature and pediment. On each side of the colonnade four pilasters complete the distinctive features of the wings. It was intended that this front should have a total length of 600 feet, the idea being to erect on the east and west sides of the main building rows of official residences running north and south, uniform in style with the rest, and connected with Somerset House by the great archways at either end of the terrace. The opportunity was exceptional, and the architect availed himself of it to make a complete composition of the river front ; but it was not until 1830—more than thirty years after his death—that the design was fulfilled by the building of King's College.

No building in London has been executed with greater ability than Somerset House, and if at some points it fails in freedom and vitality of design, it is nevertheless an almost perfect example of the master-builder's craft. Though fettered by academical tradition, Sir William Chambers undoubtedly possessed an exact and comprehensive knowledge, and an exquisite, almost fastidious taste. He spent infinite pains upon every detail of his designs, and gathered round him a band of artists on whose skilfulness he could rely. He was careful even in the selection of workmen, and his instructions for the execution of the simplest masonry were precise. One need only examine an unimportant detail like the terminals of the balustrading in the courtyard to be convinced of his unfailing supervision and artistic feeling. In his well-known treatise on Architecture he has remarked that “the most masterly disposition incorrectly executed can only be considered as a sketch in painting or an

excellent piece of music murdered by village fiddlers," and all his work bears evidence that he never lost sight of that idea.

The sculptured decorations of Somerset House are worthy of particular observation, as much for the judgment with which they have been applied as for their intrinsic excellence. Sir William Chambers may be held to have recognised the true relationship of the sculptor to the architect, to have employed him as a decorator, rather than in the production of richly-carved masses tending to focus the interest of the spectator at particular points instead of distributing it evenly upon the whole design. The function of architectural sculpture, whether we consider it broadly in the mouldings or in the orders and ornamental figures, is subordinate to that of the main lines of the building : it is concerned in lending variety to the wall spaces, and so imparting tone to the façade. How much of the ultimate success of a building is dependent upon the architect's skilful use of sculptured forms it would be impossible to determine, but the great importance of such details could not fail to impress the critical eye in the chiaroscuro of Somerset House. While, however, it is necessary thus to keep the sculptor within appropriate limits, his work, considered by itself, is capable of realising the highest qualities of his art ; and there seems no reason why the most gifted sculptor should not be ready to co-operate loyally in an architectural scheme. Whatever difficulties may have been encountered in this matter were overcome by Sir William Chambers, for many of the best-known sculptors of the day lent their talents in the embellishment of Somerset House. More self-sacrificing than any sculptor, however, was Giovanni Battista Cipriani, who not only ungrudgingly lavished his gifts as a painter and unrivalled draughtsman of children in the decoration of the interior of the north block, but actually designed the figures for the

exterior adornment of the whole building.¹ The Ionic, Composite and Corinthian capitals used throughout the building were copied from models specially made of the best antiques in Rome. The sculptors principally employed were Joseph Wilton, Agostino Carlini, John Bacon, and Joseph Nollekens, all distinguished in the early history of the Royal Academy, and Giuseppe Ceracchi, an Italian attracted to England by the liberal patronage of George III.

Of the nine keystones to the arches on the Strand front, those representing Ocean, Thames, Humber, Mersey, Medway, and Tweed were executed by Joseph Wilton²; those of Tyne, Severn, and Dee by Agostino Carlini. The central mask represents *Ocean* in the head of a venerable man whose flowing beard, resembling the waves, is filled with various kinds of fish. On the forehead is placed a crescent, to denote the influence of the moon upon the waters, and round the temples is bound a regal tiara adorned with crowns, tridents, and other marks of royalty. To the right of *Ocean* is *Thames*, a head crowned with billing swans and garlands of fruits and flowers. The hair and beard are dressed and plaited in the nicest order, and the features express good-humour and urbanity. Next to *Thames* is *Humber*, a striking contrast, exhibiting a hardy countenance with beard and hair disturbed by tempests. The cheeks and eyes are swelled with rage, the mouth is open, and every feature symbolises the intractable character of the river. Next to *Humber* are *Mersey* and *Dee*, the one

¹ "The whole of the carvings in the various fronts of Somerset Place—excepting Bacon's bronze figures—were carved from finished drawings made by Cipriani."—*A Guide through the Royal Academy*, by Joseph Baretti, 1780.

² Or his deputy, Nathaniel Smith. The great wealth which Wilton inherited, at the time when his faculties were fully developed, induced an idle existence, devoted to splendid living rather than the practice of his art. Although his works are numerous, it is probable that in few of them he undertook more than the direct inspiration.

crowned with garlands of oak, the other with reeds. Towards the left is the mask of *Medway*, a head similar to that of *Thames*, but more negligently dressed, and having for emblems the prow of a ship of war, and festoons of hops and Kentish fruits. Next to *Medway* is *Tweed*, represented by a rustic with lank hair, rough beard, and other marks of simplicity. The head is crowned with a garland of roses and thistles. The remaining masks on the left hand represent *Tyne*, with head-dress composed of salmon, intermingled with kelp and other seaweeds; and *Severn*, crowned with sedges and cornucopias, whence flow streams of water with lampreys and other fish abounding in that river.

Of the four figures fronting the attic towards the Strand, the two at the extremities are the work of Giuseppe Ceracchi, the two in the centre being due to Carlini. The corresponding figures on the courtyard side are by Wilton, who also executed the busts of Sir Isaac Newton and Michael Angelo which appear in the vestibule. The armorial decorations surmounting the attic on both the Strand and the interior fronts are by John Bacon. Nollekens is said to have carved five masks after drawings made purposely by Cipriani; these are three keystones to the arches on the courtyard side of the vestibule, and two above the doors leading into the wings of the north block. But perhaps the most interesting of all the sculptures are the groups flanking the main doorways on three sides of the quadrangle, and the central doorway on the terrace. Each is composed of two grotesques supporting in their embrace a vase containing piscatory and other objects symbolical of the business transacted in the building. All are striking in conception, and exhibit in execution the plastic effects of the true sculptor's art. The designs were doubtless due to Cipriani, the execution to Wilton or Carlini. The bronze group on the northern side of the quadrangle is by John Bacon; it was executed at a cost of over £2,000, and



SCULPTURE IN COURTYARD.

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THE MUSEUM
OF SCIENCE AND
INDUSTRY

provoked Queen Charlotte to inquire of the sculptor, "Why did you make so frightful a figure?" The Queen was evidently a person of some judgment in artistic matters, but the sculptor was ready with an answer: "Art," he said, "cannot always effect what is ever within the reach of Nature—the union of beauty with majesty."

Of the architectural importance of Somerset House there is no longer any question. The criticism which was applied to it during the period of its construction did not seriously affect the general verdict in its favour, nor diminish the influence it ultimately exercised on the more capable students of the English school. In recent years, however, it has been the subject of a somewhat confused chapter of praise and denunciation in the *History of Modern Architecture*, by Mr. James Fergusson. According to this authority the building takes rank as "the greatest architectural work of the reign of George III." The best part of the design is "the north, or Strand front, an enlarged and improved copy of a part of the old palace built by Inigo Jones, and pulled down to make way for the new buildings. This front consists of a bold rusticated basement storey more than 25 feet in height, supporting a range of three-quarter Corinthian columns, which are designed and modelled with the utmost purity and correctness; but we can hardly help regretting that two storeys of windows should be included in the order. The arrangement, however, is so thoroughly English that from habit it ceases to become offensive, and where the whole is treated with such taste, as in this instance, it seems almost unobjectionable. The three arches in the centre which form the entrance into the courtyard occupy quite as much of the façade as ought to be appropriated to this purpose, and constitute a sufficiently dignified approach to the courtyard beyond.

"The south front of this portion of the structure is also

extremely pleasing ; it is so broken as to give great play of light and shade, thus preventing either the details or number of parts from appearing too small for the purposes to which they are applied. The great areas, too, to the right and left of the entrance are an immense advantage, as they allow the two sunk storeys to be added to the height of the whole. The same praise cannot be awarded to the other side of the court, which consists of blocks of buildings of 277 and 224 feet respectively, and, being under 50 feet in height, are proportionally much lower than the entrance block just described, and far too low for their length. They are, besides, treated with a severity singularly misapplied. Except small spaces in the centre and at the extremities, the whole is rusticated even above the level of the upper windows. Such a mode of treatment might be excusable in an exterior of bold outline, though even then hardly in conjunction with a Corinthian order ; but a courtyard is necessarily a mezzo-termine between a room and an exterior, and it would generally be more excusable to treat it as if it might be roofed over, and so converted into an interior, than to design it with the cold severity which is so offensive here.

“ The river front, however, was Chambers’s great opportunity, but it unfortunately shows how little he was equal to the task he had undertaken. To treat a southern façade nearly 600 feet in extent in the same manner as he had treated a northern one only 132 feet long, would have been about as great a blunder as an architect ever made. In order to produce the same harmony of effect he ought to have exaggerated the size of the parts in something like the same proportion ; but, instead of this, both the basement and the order are between one-third and one-fourth less than those of the Strand front, though so similar as to deceive the eye. As if to make this capital defect even more apparent than it would otherwise have been, he placed a terrace 46 feet

THE QUADRANGLE: NORTH SIDE.

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wide and of about two-thirds of the height of his main building in front of it !

"No wonder that it looks hardly as high, and is not more dignified than a terrace of private houses in Regent's Park or elsewhere. This is the more inexcusable as he had 100 feet of elevation available from the water's edge, without adding one inch to the height of his buildings, which was more than sufficient for architectural effect, if he had known how to use it. Even with the terrace as it is, if he had brought forward the wings only to the edge of the terrace, and thrown his centre back 80 or 100 feet, he would have improved the court immensely and given variety and height to the river front ; and then either with a cupola or some higher feature in the centre the worst defects of the building might have been avoided.

"It was evident, however, that the imagination of Chambers could rise no higher than the conception of a square, unpoetic mass ; and although he was one of the most correct and painstaking architects of his century, we cannot regret that he was not employed in any churches of importance, and that the nobility do not seem to have patronised him to any great extent. He had evidently no grasp of mind or inventive faculty, and little knowledge of the principles of Art beyond what might be gathered from the works of Vignola and other writers with regard to the use of orders. This may produce correctness, but commonplace designs can be the only result, and this is really all that can be said of the works of Sir William Chambers."

Mr. Joseph Gwilt, a frank admirer of Chambers, and editor of his work on *The Decorative Part of Architecture*, does not allow the design of Somerset House to be flawless. He belongs to an earlier generation than Mr. Fergusson, a generation in which the sentiment of reverence for the great departed too often found free play ; yet his misgivings with regard to the design, though not sufficiently

particularised, are openly stated. "It must, however, be admitted," he writes, "that amidst an abundance of architectural beauties some faults and improprieties are discernible. The dignity and grandeur which ought to prevail in a building of this character is in some degree weakened by the multiplicity of the parts, which too much interfere with each other ; and the incongruous mixture of rustics with the principal order, which is Corinthian, tends to destroy the effect its correct and beautiful proportion would otherwise produce. Still, after all that has been said upon the subject, one truth we may confidently assert, that by this, the most magnificent of our late public buildings, Sir William Chambers established a reputation of which it will be difficult for his opponents of the present day, or those of the future, to deprive him." Again : "In one circumstance he may be said to have been peculiarly fortunate, and especially in his great work at Somerset House. We allude to the excellent and superior manner in which his designs were carried into execution. He had judgment to select, and good sense to attach to him by affability and courtesy, such practical men as were mainly to contribute to his own future reputation." In another place, Mr. Gwilt observes : "We believe that whatever was done to forward the Arts during the reign of George III. owes a large portion of its effect to that celebrated man (Sir William Chambers). . . . We intend here chiefly to restrict ourselves to a short account of Somerset House, his largest work, in which, though there be many faults, so well did he understand his art that it is a matter of no ordinary difficulty, and indeed requires hypercriticism to find anything offensive to good taste in the detail." A more discerning, and not less expert, critic than either Mr. Fergusson or Mr. Gwilt is Mr. Reginald Blomfield, who, in his *Renaissance Architecture in England*, devotes considerable space to an examination of Somerset House.

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VIEW TOWARDS THE EAST.

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"Chambers's task," he writes, "was one of great difficulty. He had only a narrow frontage to the Strand in advance of his main area, though on the south side he had a magnificent frontage to the river. Moreover, Chambers had to provide sets of offices for various Government departments, and other purposes, on a scale hitherto never attempted in England. These problems he solved with consummate success." Of the river front, Mr. Blomfield remarks : "There is possibly a certain confusion and weakness in putting a single archway under a heavy colonnade ; but the light and shade of the design is extremely effective, and it is one of the few places in London that suggest the mighty loggias of Italy. . . . With all its merits—and the river front is one of the really great public buildings in London—Somerset House is open to much criticism. Chambers's work is always a little forced and over-conscious ; the consequence is that it is unequal, and fails of that organic relationship which binds every detail of the work of architects of strong natural genius. For instance, the main entrance from the Strand passes under a vaulting carried by two rows of coupled Doric columns. In itself this is a very accomplished piece of classical detail, but it has no relation whatever to the rusticated ground storey of the Strand front, and Chambers has not even attempted to get over the difficulty of combining the two. It seems evident that Chambers thought out the design bit by bit ; that he worked not from the whole down to the details, but upwards from the details to the whole—one of the worst features of modern architecture. . . . His work lacks vitality ; and while it steers clear of the frippery of the Adams, it does not possess the vigour of Jones or Wren. They had a power of convincing the mind that their architecture was human and individual, and the expression of an artistic personality ; these things failed in Chambers. He had one supreme merit : he declined to give way to the pre-

vailing dilettantism, and adhered strictly to the true classic tradition."

Both Mr. Fergusson and Mr. Gwilt were men of wide experience and acknowledged authority ; indeed, so far as the former is concerned, scarcely an edifice of interest exists which he did not make the subject of careful study. But we find in their remarks the flavour of a too academic interest ; and it is evident from a comparison of the passages quoted that on the vital question of general proportions their views did not accord. By no method can the sense of "correct and beautiful" proportion be discovered to a mind ungifted with the faculty of harmonious insight ; nor can the abstraction of beauty present itself in a more elusive shape than this in which it governs the indeterminable relationships of architecture with an apparent mathematical exactitude. Mr. Fergusson sees one thing, Mr. Gwilt another : which is the true architect ? The vigour with which the former attacked the river façade carried him somewhat beyond his critical intention, and his remarks become suggestive rather of a magnificence which might have been achieved under his own direction than of the faults discernible in the actual edifice. Somerset House is the work of Sir William Chambers, deliberately planned as we see it to-day ; and if the river façade be not so bold and free as another would have it, doubtless it was designed to achieve the effect it presents. Nor is that effect such as should provoke an impatient criticism. Without asserting that the severity of its outline is preferable to the more flamboyant composition suggested by Mr. Fergusson, it is nevertheless unquestionable that the existing façade is one of exceptional beauty ; and after all, the effect of the hypothetical case would depend upon the taste and architectural skill with which it was carried out. The very monotony of the river front secures a certain largeness of manner which might be wanting in a more irregular structure ; and in designing

it Chambers appears purposely to have denied himself the cheap success of a theatrical arrangement, and striven after an effect which should be at once solemn and magnificent. Far from being a building of "square unpoetic mass," every part of it demonstrates the architect's chastened feeling for the subtler qualities of design, and is only unpoetic to minds which are themselves unpoetic. Again, Mr. Fergusson's condemnation of the effect of diminished height, seen when the main structure is regarded as rising from the level of the terrace, cannot be supported. To-day, as the pedestrian proceeds from the Strand across Waterloo Bridge, the "capital defect" of which he complains is indeed visible for a few moments in the sharp perspective of the terrace; but until the building of Waterloo Bridge (1811-1817), practically the only view of the southern façade obtainable was that from the river, and it was to satisfy the spectator passing in a boat that the architect essayed. Examined from this point the criticism loses its force, as the height of the terrace naturally supplements that of the superstructure, and a majestic edifice results. Mr. Fergusson was perhaps so unfortunate as never to observe the river façade from the right bank of the Thames at noonday in summer when it glistens opalescent in the brilliant heat, or at midnight in winter when the moon strikes pale upon its bleaching outlines and the design stands out in the stillness white like a palace of snow.

Here, perhaps, we may fitly recall the observations of "Henri" Taine, the famous French critic and historian of English literature. About the middle of last century, during one of his visits to London, he inspected Somerset House, and in his pleasantest vein recorded an impression:—

"A frightful thing is the huge palace in the Strand which is called Somerset House. Massive and heavy piece of

architecture of which the hollows are inked, the porticos blackened with soot, where in the cavity of the empty court is a sham fountain without water, pools of water on the pavement and long rows of closed windows—what can they possibly do in these catacombs? It seems as if the livid and sooty fog had even befouled the verdure of the parks. But what most offend the eyes are the colonnades, peristyles, Grecian ornaments, mouldings, and wreaths of the houses all bathed in soot—poor antique architecture, what is it doing in such a climate?"

This observation was natural enough for a Frenchman in London on a dismal and wet October day. He remembered the splendour of the Tuileries and the Louvre, where with a less durable stone than that of Somerset House something of the original cleanliness is preserved. But objectionable as it is to humanity, the grime of the London atmosphere is nevertheless kind in its own way to a building like Somerset House. The façades would never look as white as they do without the coating of soot which gathers upon the sheltered spaces and so intensifies the comparative cleanliness of every exposed feature.

In the vestibule, however, where no rain can penetrate, not a word can be said for the soot which by this time has stained the stone and pitilessly spoiled its charm of light and shade. This is the more unfortunate because here we find the most delicate work in the whole building, a piece of architectural scenery unsurpassed in London. Mr. Blomfield refers to it approvingly as an accomplished piece of classical detail unrelated to the Strand façade, but in that observation he fails to do justice to its gracefulness and the complex beauty of its construction. It is obvious, moreover, that the architect considered it as an interior which it was unnecessary to correlate with the Strand façade: it was the hall of entrance of the Royal Academy, and earned its designer many tributes from the men who gathered there.



THE VESTIBULE.

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1900-1901

Like all Chambers's work, it is executed with a perfection which in itself is almost poetic, and whether or not it be considered a digression from the dominant theme, it claims unstinted admiration.

Notwithstanding certain defects and the recurrent onslaught of intemperate criticism, Somerset House has remained the chief exemplar in England of the Classic style applied to secular needs. Even the modern craze for light, with the consequent enlarging of window spaces, has not involved an essential change of style. Palladian forms are not less serviceable now than when the basilica of Vicenza was built nearly four hundred years ago, and no insuperable reason exists why the modern commercial palace should not compete in graceful nobility with that primordial structure. Chambers, indeed, may have erred on the side of austerity, may even sometimes have failed to impart the warmth of vitality to his chaste and scholarly design, but had he lived in our day we might have been spared the uncouth forms and clumsy adornment which begin to be flaunted in the neighbourhood of his greatest work.

CHAPTER VI

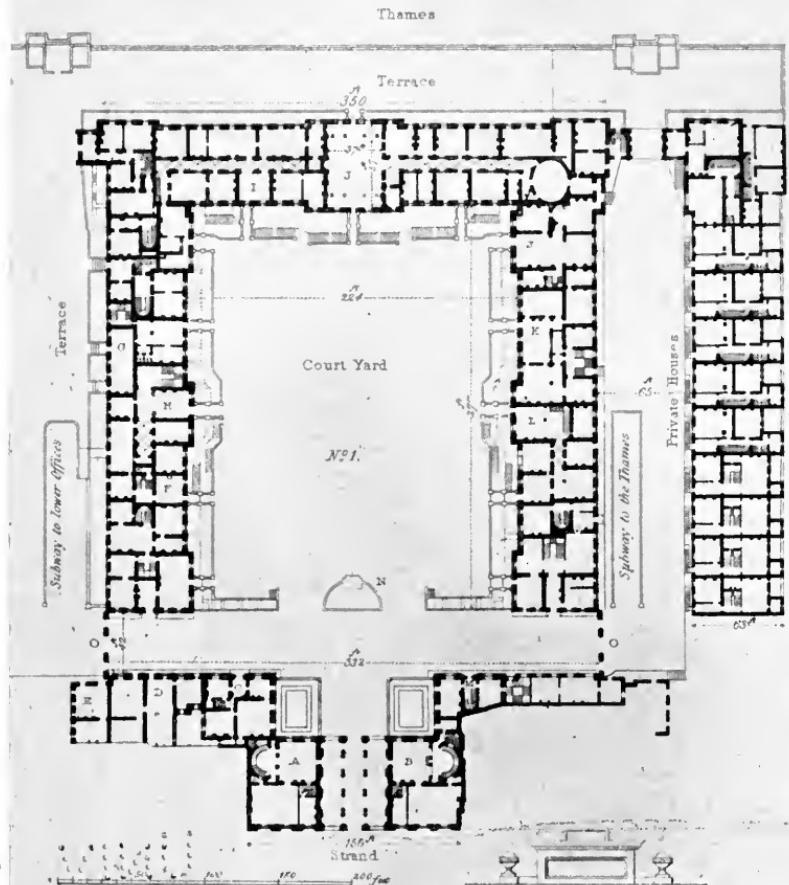
ITS TENANTS

1780-1850

THE earliest occupants of the new building were the members of the Royal Academy. That institution had been embodied under the direct patronage of George III. in 1768, and from the outset of its career enjoyed His Majesty's support. In 1771, as we have already seen, the Academy was granted the use of the State apartments in the old palace, and from that time its activities were centred in Somerset House. The annual exhibition of pictures, however, continued to be held at the old rooms in Pall Mall, until it was transferred to apartments specially designed for its reception in the north block of the new building in the Strand, and opened there on May 1, 1780. In this way the Royal Academy forms the only link between the present and the past, with the exception of certain unimportant relics of the old palace soon to be noticed.¹ The Academy was followed by the Royal Society and the Society

* It is to be observed, however, that Sir William Chambers, the architect of Somerset House, played an important part both in the inception of the Academy and the subsequent conduct of its business. At one of the earliest meetings of the Academicians a resolution was adopted, thanking him "for his active and able conduct in planning and forming the Royal Academy."





PLAN OF THE WORK EXECUTED BY SIR WM. CHAMBERS.

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of Antiquaries, the former holding its first meeting in the new rooms on November 30, 1780, the latter on January 11, 1781.

More than four years now elapsed before any other part of the building was ready for use. It was not until July 5, 1785, that the Audit Office began its tenancy in the east wing, which on completion also provided space for the offices of the Duchies of Cornwall and Lancaster, the Tax Office, the Salt Office, the Pipe Office, and the office of the Clerk of Estreats. By the end of 1789 the Stamp Office, the Navy Office, the Navy Pay Office, the Victualling Office, and the Sick and Wounded Office had been housed in the south and west blocks; the Legacy Duty, the Hawkers and Pedlars, the Exchequer, Lottery, Privy Seal and Signet, and Hackney Coach Offices in the wings of the north block. Later still a row of official residences facing the rear of the west wing was finished for the convenience of the Treasurer of the Navy, the Comptroller of the Navy, the three Commissioners and the Secretary to the Navy Board, and the Chairman, the two Commissioners, and the Secretary of the Victualling Department. What in those days were the doorways of these residences are now windows in the rear of the Inland Revenue Office, Lancaster Place: they are readily recognised by their pediments and stone dressings, and correspond in these particulars with doorways (now windows) in the rear of the west wing. Then the space between the two wings on the west was not dug out, but appeared much as the space between the east wing and King's College appears to-day, and led pedestrians either to the public promenade on the terrace facing the Thames, or, by a subway, to the water's edge.

From Joseph Baretti's *Guiae through the Royal Academy*, published in 1780, we copy the following account of the purposes which it was at first proposed Sir William Chambers' scheme should fulfil in addition to providing apartments for

the Royal Academy, Royal Society, and Society of Antiquaries in the north block. “The remainder of the building was to contain many public offices, with houses and apartments for a great number of officers and servants belonging to them, whose residence has been judged necessary for the more regular and expeditious despatch of business. The principal of these are the Privy Seal and Signet Offices ; the Navy Office ; Navy Pay ; Victualling ; Sick and Wounded ; Ordnance ; Stamp ; Lottery ; Salt-tax ; Hackney Coach ; and Hawkers and Pedlars Offices ; also the Surveyor-General of Crown Lands Office ; the Duchies of Cornwall and Lancaster ; the two auditors of Imprests ; the Pipe Office, and Comptroller of the Pipe ; the Clerk of the Estreats and Treasurer’s Remembrancer’s Offices. The King’s barge houses are likewise to be comprehended in the plan, with a dwelling for the Barge Master ; besides houses for the Treasurer, the Paymaster, and six Commissioners of the Navy ; for three Commissioners of the Victualling and their Secretary ; for one Commissioner of the Stamps, and one of the Sick and Wounded ; with commodious apartments in every office for a secretary or some other acting officer ; and for a porter and their families.”

A considerable curtailment of the original plan was, however, adopted during its execution. As first designed, the site of the old palace did not by any means comprise the entire ground plan of the new erections, which would have included the greater part of the Savoy on the west and the space now occupied by Surrey and Norfolk Streets on the east.¹ The passage quoted indicates how much importance was formerly attached to the punctual and continuous attendance of the principal officers of the various Government departments ; and that residential accommodation was liberally supplied, the domestic character of the

¹ See *Vestiges*, by Joseph Moser, in the *European Magazine* for August, 1802.

rooms in the upper floors of the building now used as offices clearly demonstrates.

When old Somerset House was relinquished by the Crown the King reserved to himself the right to appropriate sufficient space in the new building for the reception of the Royal Academy, the Royal Society, and the Society of Antiquaries, in all of which institutions he appears to have been actively interested. The apartments destined for the use of these societies were specially designed to meet their requirements, and embellished in a manner befitting their state and dignity. A letter from the Government, handing over to the Academy the parts of the building it was to occupy, exhibits a curious interest of identity, when it is remembered that the Treasurer of the Academy was none other than Sir William Chambers himself.

“Treasury Chambers,

“11th April, 1780.

“SIR,—The Lords Commissioners of his Majesty’s Treasury having taken into consideration your letter of the 27th March, stating that the apartments allotted to the Royal Academy in the new building at Somerset House are now completely finished, and that His Majesty has directed this year’s exhibition of pictures to be there; and desiring to have an order for delivering up the same either to the President the Council or to the Treasurer of the Academy, who is by virtue of his office to have the inspection and care both of the buildings and all other his Majesty’s effects employed in that institution: I am commanded by their Lordships to direct you to deliver up into the hands of the Treasurer of the Royal Academy all apartments allotted to his Majesty’s said Academy in the new building at Somerset House, which are to be appropriated to the purposes specified in the several plans of the same heretofore settled. And

you are to signify to the officers of the Academy that they, their families, servants, tradesmen and visitors are to use for their apartments the stair of communication only, and not to use the great stair for any common purposes. And as the residence of the Secretary in the Academy is an indulgence lately proposed, which upon trial may be found inconvenient or the rooms he occupies be hereafter wanted for other purposes, you are to signify that he holds the same merely at pleasure, to be resumed whenever it shall be thought proper. And to the end that all the parts of the new building may be preserved in good repair, clean, undamaged, and undisfigured, you are strictly to direct and order that no tubs or pots of earth, either with or without flowers, trees, creepers, or other shrubs, be placed in the gutters of the said buildings or upon the roofs and parapets, or upon the court areas or windows, niches, or any other aperture of the same ; and also that no plaster, paper, or other thing be put up, plastered, or pasted against any of the walls thereof under any pretence whatever. And you are further to direct that on no account whatever any change shall be made in the destination of the apartments appropriated to the public use, nor any alteration either in those or any others that are or shall be inhabited by any of the officers or servants without the approbation of this Board, and that no person be permitted to let or lend their apartments under any pretext whatever.

“ I am Sir,

“ Your most humble servant,

“ JOHN ROBINSON.

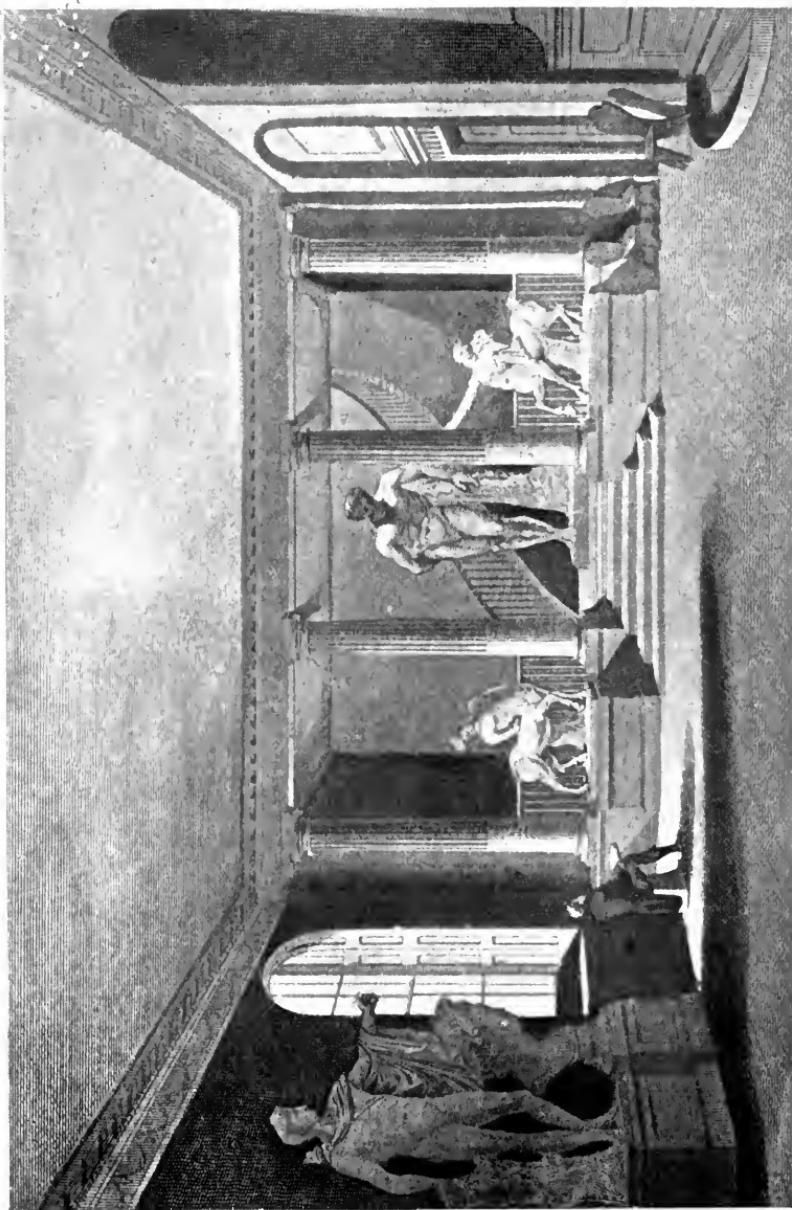
“ To Sir William Chambers.”

On receipt of the letter Sir William Chambers the architect evidently did not delay to put Sir William Chambers the treasurer in possession of the building. By the end of the month everything was in readiness for the



THE HALL OF THE ROYAL ACADEMY.

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exhibition. Even in those days the banquet had become a recognised prelude to the opening of the galleries ; men of eminence in all the walks of life were brought together to listen to the presidential oratory and to felicitate one another on the success of another year's work ; while the world of London awaited the event as a signal of the opened season. The dinner list for the inauguration was increased from sixty-four to ninety covers, and the table was laid in the great gallery where the pictures of the exhibition were already hung. Dr. Johnson, writing in his diary for Mrs. Thrale, has left us an impression of the banquet : "The Exhibition ! how will you do either to see or not to see ? The Exhibition is eminently splendid. There is *contour* and *keeping* and *grace* and *expression*, and all the varieties of artificial excellence. The apartments were truly very noble. The pictures for the sake of a skylight are at the top of the house : there we dined ; and I sat over against the Archbishop of York."

The galleries were opened to the public on May 1st, and a fashionable throng visited them daily. The removal to Somerset House proved a splendid advertisement for the Academy, the large increase in the number of visitors to the exhibition which followed it doubtless being due to the prevailing curiosity aroused by the new building. The receipts for the season totalled £3,069 1s., or £1,700 more than in the preceding year, and now for the first time the Academy was placed on a sound financial basis. Hitherto it had been largely dependent on the personal generosity of the King, who in the first twelve years of its existence contributed over £5,000 towards the expenses ; but from the day of its coming to Somerset House it began to grow rich. The exhibition which marks the turning-point in its fortunes included 489 pictures by the most eminent artists of the time ; among them were Reynolds, Gainsborough, Richard Wilson, Benjamin West, Stothard, Beechey, Cosway, and de

Loutherbourg. Reynolds was represented by his portrait of Miss Beauclerk as "Una" in the *Faerie Queene*, by others of Gibbon the historian, Lady Beaumont, a full length of Prince Frederick William, son of the Duke of Gloucester, and by his design of "Justice" for the window of New College; Gainsborough had sent both portraits and landscapes; and Benjamin West several royal portraits, pictures of classic subjects, and representations of the Battle of the Boyne and the action off La Hogue. Horace Walpole notes in his catalogue of this exhibition: "Fine exhibition, with excellent pictures by Gainsborough, and several good by Sir Joshua Reynolds, Loutherbourg, Zoffany, Wright, and others. N.B.—Mr. Romney, now in great vogue, sent none of his pictures." But the secession of Mr. Romney affected neither his own popularity nor that of the Academy.

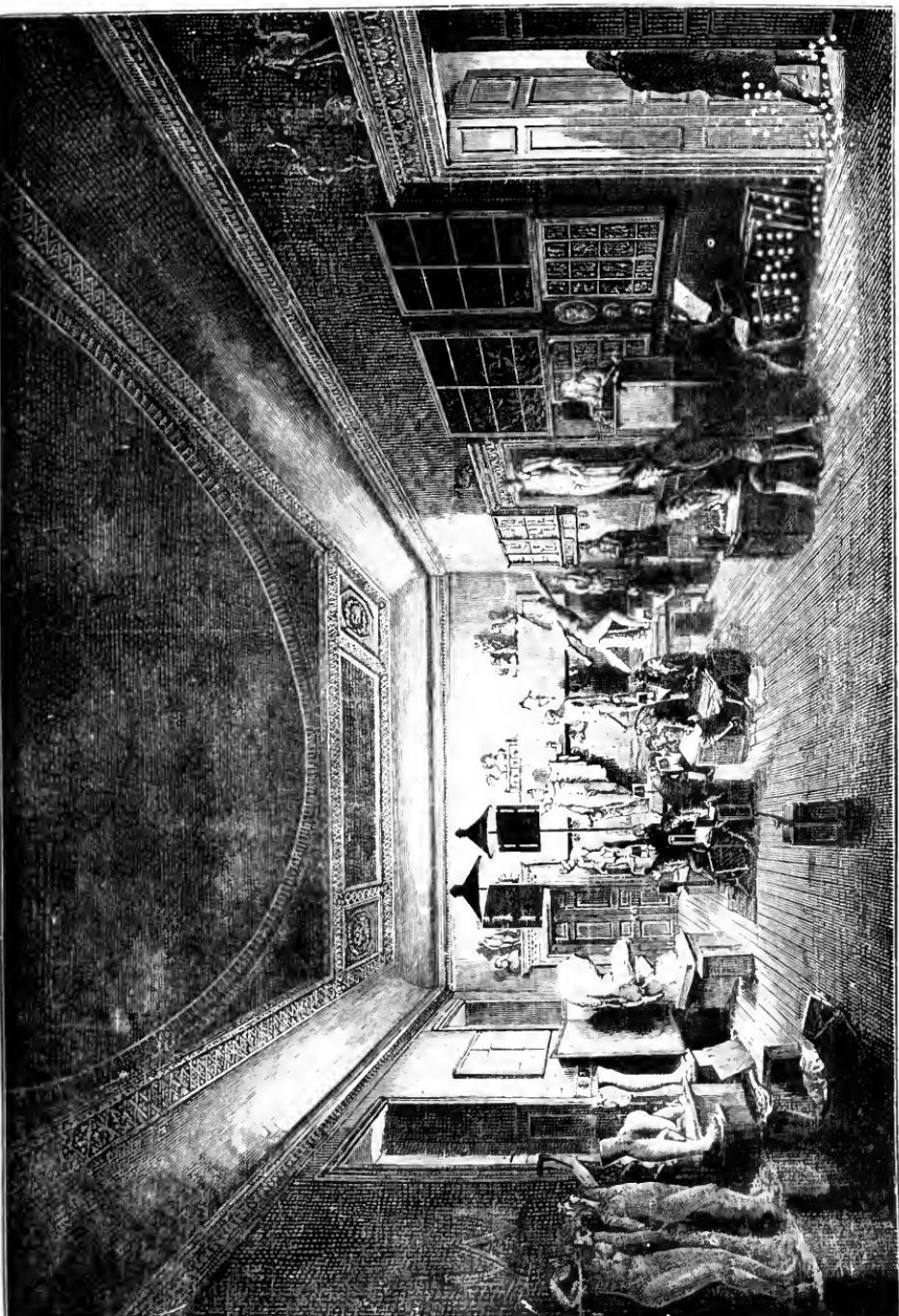
As a teaching centre where students could receive education under masters of acknowledged quality, the Academy had already proved its value. The School began its activities in the new quarters on October 16, 1780, and Sir Joshua Reynolds took opportunity in his preliminary address to the students to acknowledge the King's generosity and to pay tribute of praise to Sir William Chambers:—

"The honour which the Arts acquire by being permitted to take possession of this noble habitation is one of the most considerable of the many instances we have received of His Majesty's protection, and the strongest proof of his desire to make the Academy respectable.

"Nothing has been left undone that might contribute to excite our pursuit or to reward our attainments. We have already the happiness of seeing the Arts in a state to which they never before arrived in this nation. This building in which we are now assembled will remain to many future ages an illustrious specimen of the architect's abilities. It is our duty to endeavour that those who gaze with wonder

STUDIES AT WORK IN THE ANTIQUE ACADEMY.
By permission of Messrs. Virtue & Co.

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at the structure may not be disappointed when they visit the apartments. It will be no small addition to the glory which this nation has already acquired from having given birth to eminent men in every part of science, if it should be enabled to produce in consequence of this institution a school of English artists."

Assuredly there was little now wanting to make the Academy "respectable." Its close connection with the Crown secured it a social standing of a very definite kind, and soon the students who were privileged to work under its guidance enjoyed the stimulus of magnificent surroundings. Reynolds, Angelica Kauffmann, Cipriani, Benjamin West, Biaggio Rebecca, and Charles Catton among painters, Joseph Wilton, Nollekens, Carlini, and Locatelli among sculptors, joined forces with the architect in the adornment of the new apartments.

The doorway from the open vestibule led to a hall of entrance some 25 feet square, in which at one time stood casts of Hercules, the Furiotti centaurs, an Apollo, and several busts. Leading out of this hall on the right were the Secretary's office and the "academy of living models," in which during the annual exhibition sculptures and drawings were placed on view. These apartments were unadorned except by a frieze modelled in plaster. On one side the hall was open to the principal staircase, from which it was separated by a screen of fluted Doric columns. From the first landing, but five steps above the floor of the hall, a Doric vestibule was visible in the basement storey. This led to the Keeper's apartments and shut out the view of the back stairs. At the mezzanine floor was exhibited a painting by Cipriani *en grisaille*, imitating bas-relief, and symbolical of the Arts and Sciences. The library was accommodated on the first floor in a room which, though not large, gained character and charm from its well-proportioned height and coved ceiling. The chimney-piece was of marble, richly

carved with arabesque and emblematic ornament by Signor Locatelli. Upon it was placed a pedestal, on the die of which was the oval bas-relief of Cupid and Psyche given by Nollekens on his election to the Academy.¹ The pedestal carried a bust of George III., the founder of the Academy, executed by Carlini ; and other busts and models were disposed about the room. The doors were elaborately carved, and the walls, finished in stucco and decorated in parti-coloured compartments, terminated in a cornice, from which sprang the coved ceiling. The central panel of the ceiling was painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds : it represented a draped figure seated upon clouds and displaying a scroll with the legend, "Theory is knowledge of what is truly Nature." This magnificent work is still to be seen at Burlington House.

The four compartments in the coves were contributed by the generous Cipriani. They were designed to illustrate Nature, History, Allegory, and Fable, the sources whence the chisel and the pencil derive their subjects of representation. The compartment over the chimney-piece depicts History in a majestic figure seated on the earth, the theatre of her inquiries. Before her is Fame, carrying her trumpet and supporting a shield, on which with one hand she engraves past events, while in the other she displays the Book of Truth. In the background are grouped genii studying a globe. The compartment over the windows symbolises Fable in the Phœnix, the Pegasus, the Sphinx, the Satyr, the Gorgon's head, and other fanciful monsters, which are here composed with genii masks and the various instruments of ancient ceremonials—all allusions to the principal fables and poetic fancies of Homer, Ovid, and other poets of antiquity. Over the door of entrance Nature is represented in the figure of a beautiful girl suckling a child and unveiling herself to the studious gaze of genii employed in the delineation of her charms.

¹ Now in the Diploma Gallery at Burlington House.



NATURE.

Painted by G. B. Cipriani.

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She leans upon a cornucopia, whence issue animals, fruits, grain, vegetables, and flowers, in the examination of which other genii are closely engaged. Above the other door of the room, and facing the windows, is the representation of Allegory. Here genii and animals are used to typify Navigation, Commerce, and Maritime Fortune ; Wisdom chastises Vice and suppresses Ignorance ; Victory symbolises the qualities which are conducive to the felicity and grandeur of the state, the various figures being distinguished by such marks and emblems as the ingenuity of former times invented to explain their significance.

Adjoining the library on the north side was the Antique academy, with its collection of casts and models. It was undecorated except in its coved ceiling, the four angles of which had ornaments composed of floral garlands surrounding the cipher R.A., interwoven with the compass, the chisel, and the brush. A picture of this room by Johann Zoffany, showing a group of students at work by lamplight, hangs in the staircase of the Diploma Gallery at Burlington House.

The Antique academy opened into the Council Chamber (also known as the Lecture Room), an apartment measuring 40 feet by 25 feet, well proportioned as to height, and splendidly adorned. The door, windows, architrave, and cornice were richly carved. The chimney-pieces were executed in fine marble by Joseph Wilton. The ceiling was an original composition of great beauty, in which ornamental sculpture, painting, and gilding each played an important part. The architect, mindful of the purpose the room would serve, spent great pains upon the design, which was rich and well composed, one part being developed naturally from another in the achievement of a single scheme. In the execution of the stucco ornament, both in this ceiling and in others throughout the building, the modelling is admirable ; indeed, the work exhibits a truth,

and vitality, which could only have been secured by a fine executant working under the immediate inspiration of the designer himself.

The central compartment of this ceiling and four panels surrounding it were painted by Benjamin West. They showed "the Graces unveiling Nature," and four female figures attended by genii, emblematic of the elements—Earth, Air, Fire, and Water. Four circular panels by Biaggio Rebecca depicted the heads of Apollodorus the architect, Phidias the sculptor, Archimedes the mathematician, and Apelles the painter; and eight smaller ones by the same hand contained chiaroscuro medallions of Palladio, Bernini, Michael Angelo, Titian, Domenichino, Fiamingo, Raphael, and Rubens. At each end were two oval panels by Angelica Kauffmann, representing "Genius," a figure leaning on a celestial globe, and expressing the rapture of invention; "Design" drawing from the torso; "Composition," with chessboard and other emblems; and "Painting" taking her colours from the rainbow. Over one of the fireplaces was a model of His Majesty George III. on horseback, by Carlini, and over the other a cast of a flayed horse, the original of which is in Rome. At the end of the room, fronting the door, hung Sir Joshua's full-length portraits of their Majesties; near them Copley's "Samuel and Eli"; over the fireplace at one end, West's "Raising of Lazarus"; in the right-hand corner, Mason Chamberlain's portrait of Dr. Hunter, the famous physiologist and professor of anatomy at the Academy; next to it, Reynolds' portrait of himself, and by the side of this, his portrait of Sir William Chambers; next the door on the right was Dominic Serres' picture of the relief of Gibraltar by Rodney, in 1780. These pictures for the most part represent the beginning of the Diploma Gallery, which was instituted in 1770 and has since been enriched by a contribution of one work exacted from each Academician on his election.



CEILING OF COUNCIL CHAMBER.

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Returning to the staircase, the attic floor is reached by two flights of steps, above the half-space of which was hung a large painting *en grisaille* by Cipriani, representing Minerva visiting the Muses on Mount Parnassus, and displaying the fine instinct for the antique which so distinguished Cipriani's work.

At one end of the landing on the attic floor was an entrance to the apartments occupied by the keeper ; at the other, one communicating with those used by the Secretary ; and in the centre, a further entrance leading through an open screen of columns to the exhibition rooms. The ante-room, 25 feet square by 19 feet high, comprehended both the attic and garret storeys. The doorway between this room and the Great Room was a composition, partly real and partly painted, corresponding with the entrance from the staircase to the ante-room. Circular niches containing ancient busts answered to the circular windows on the opposite side, and pilasters to the opposite columns. The entablature was the same, as was likewise a panel occupying part of it, upon which was painted in chiaroscuro a "Sacrifice to Minerva," the counterpart of a similar painting of the "Marriage of Cupid and Psyche" on the other. Above the order was depicted an open window with a distant sky seen through it ; and before the window a group in chiaroscuro showing Painting and Sculpture supporting a medallion of their Majesties. This group, as well as the two panels, was the work of John Francis Rigaud, R.A.

Over the doorway leading to the exhibition was an inscription in Greek characters, ΟΥΔΕΙΣ ΑΜΟΥΣΟΣ ΕΙΣΙΤΩ—Let none enter but such as love the Muses. The Great Room measured 53 feet long by 43 feet wide, and 32 feet high including the lantern, a remarkable piece of construction, supported on strong trusses concealed in the coves of the room, and in the divisions of the four Diocle-

sian windows. The whole was framed of timber and sheathed on the outside in copper. It was indeed a splendidly-lighted and magnificent apartment. The decorations were few. At the four angles of the ceiling were chiaroscuro groups of boys engaged in the arts of painting, sculpture, architecture, and geometry. These filled the spandrels of a large oval foliage frame enclosing a space in which was seen a well-executed sky. This ornament was by Charles Catton, one of the foundation members of the Academy.

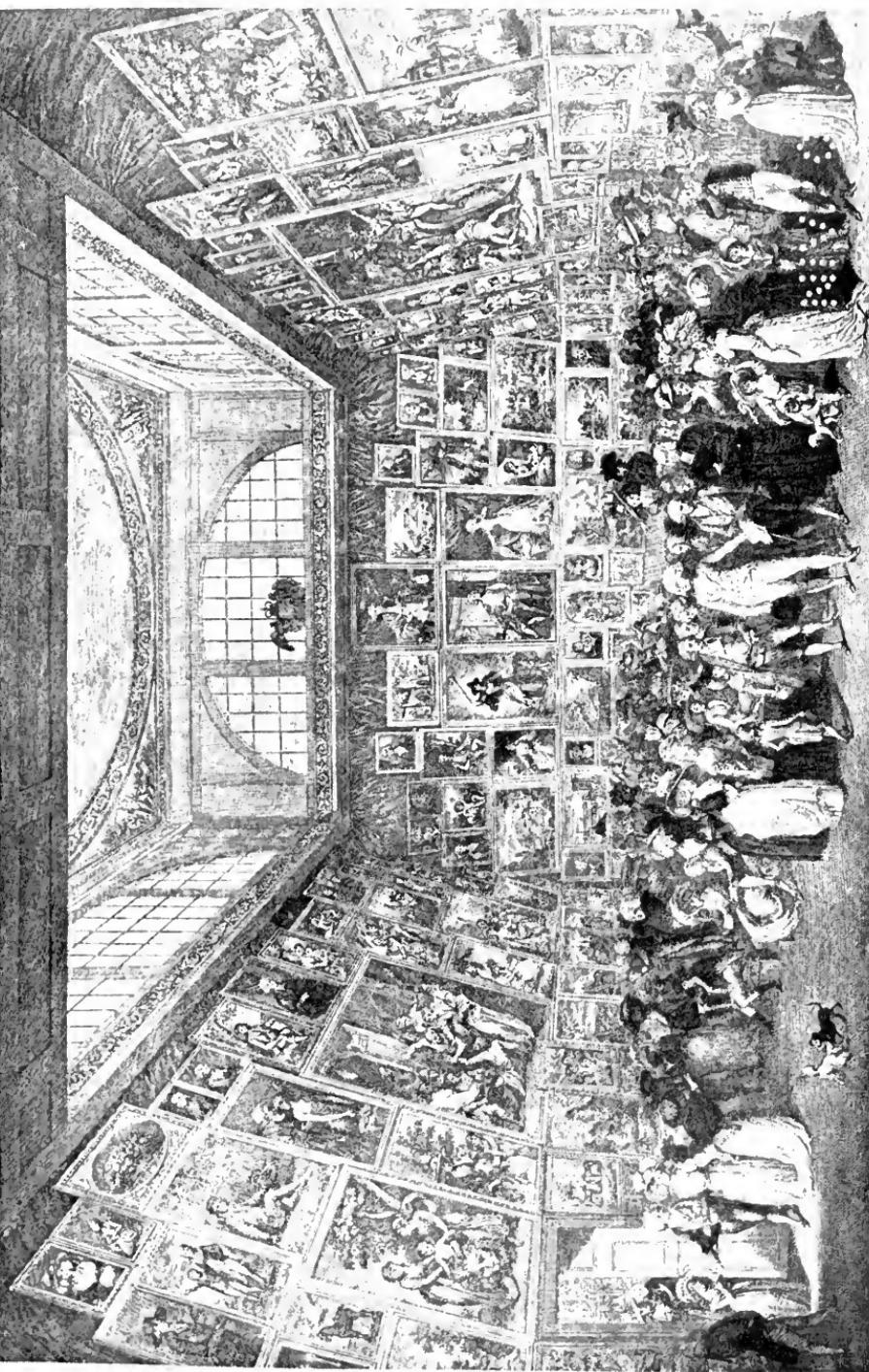
On the same floor as the exhibition rooms was a room used for the School of Painting.

For fifty-seven years the Academy held its exhibitions at Somerset House, and the most eminent men and women in the land gathered there as spectators. Prosperity came without bidding, and very soon the space which had been deemed ample became cramped and inadequate. Scores of canvases were rejected yearly, and the President and Council were deluged with appeals from the unfortunate artists just as their successors are to-day. Even the great Dr. Johnson was reduced to making intercession for a painter friend whose work had been "crowded out," and counted himself fortunate that his appeal was allowed.

To this early period of the Academy's tenancy at Somerset House belongs the well-known series of water-colour drawings by H. Ramberg. Not long ago three drawings of the exhibition of 1784 were brought to light, and there can be little doubt from their strong resemblance to the engravings after Ramberg of the exhibitions of 1787 and 1788 that they represent his work; and their existence indicates a probability that similar drawings were made of the exhibition in other years. The prints possess great interest in reference to the costume of the period, and have also been of service in determining the authorship of many portraits doubtfully masquerading under the distinguished

THE EXHIBITION OF 1787.
From the drawing by H. Rampling.

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names of Reynolds and Gainsborough. The print of 1787 is a charming example. It shows Sir Joshua's Prince of Wales in the place of honour ; his Lady St. Asaph hangs a little to the left, under Beach's portrait of the famous Tattersall. The portrait of Boswell is on the line at the extreme left, that of Sir H. Englefield balancing it on the right. Under Opie's Rizzio hangs the famous painting of cherubs' heads now in the National Gallery. In the middle of the throng of visitors stands the Prince of Wales in conversation with Sir Joshua, who, as usual, carries an ear-trumpet.

But the Academy's success did not come unattended. The interest aroused by the exhibition of 1781 produced the first of a crop of abusive satires reflecting on the Academy as an institution, and indulging in more daring references of a personal kind. *The Earwig: An old woman's remarks on the exhibition of the Royal Academy*, was followed by *Lyric Odes to the Royal Academicians for 1782, by Peter Pindar, Esquire, a distant relation to the poet of Thebes and Laureate to the Academy.*¹ These odes took Society by surprise, and the justice of some of

¹ As a specimen of the Lyric Odes we print three stanzas alluding to the new building at Somerset House :—

“Say shall yon dome stupendous rise,
Striking with Attic front the skies,
The nursing dame of many a painting ape ;
And I immortal rhyme refuse
To tell the Nations round the news,
And make posterity with wonder gape ?

Spirit of cousin Pindar, ho !
By all thy odes the world shall know
That Chambers planned it ; be his name revered !
Sir William's journeymen and tools
(No pupils of the Chinese schools)
With stone, and wood, and lime the fabric reared.

Thus having put the Knight in rhyme,
Stone, men, and timber, tools and lime,
Now let us see what this rare dome contains ;
Where rival artists for a name,
Bit by that glorious mad-dog Fame,
Have fixed the labours of their brush and brains.”

the criticisms, the recklessness of the personalities, and the novelty of the style made them exceedingly popular, and at the same time swelled the stream of visitors to Somerset House. Their author, Dr. John Wolcott, a disappointed physician, was so much encouraged by his new venture, that more odes appeared in 1783, 1785, and 1786; and these were succeeded by yet other squibs: *The Bee, or the Exhibition exhibited in a new light, or a complete catalogue raisonné for 1788*, and in 1791 *The Royal Academy, or a touchstone to the present exhibition, by Anthony Touchstone*.

While Society was thus refreshing itself with mild scandal, the objects of the Academy were assiduously promoted by its members, and biennially, at the distribution of prizes to the students of the schools, were delivered the best of Sir Joshua Reynolds' *Discourses*. The well-known valedictory pronouncement made on December 10, 1790, brought together a crowded assembly in the great Exhibition Room at the top of the building, and was the occasion of a remarkable incident. As the President rose to begin his address, a beam supporting the floor gave way with a loud crash. People rushed to the doors and the sides of the room in great confusion and alarm. Sir Joshua, however, sat silent and unmoved; and as the floor had sunk but little, and only in one part, it was soon propped, and the audience resumed their seats. Then with perfect composure the President began to speak. The address, delivered in the graceful and melodious style of which he had the secret, was full of valuable advice to the students; but over all there seemed to hang the gloom of departure, and many among the audience must have heard a fatal warning in the closing words: "My age and my infirmities make it probable that this will be the last time I shall have the honour of addressing you from this place. . . . I reflect, not without vanity, that these discourses bear testimony of my admiration of that truly divine man (his

favourite among the Italian masters) ; and I should desire that the last words which I should pronounce in this Academy and from this place should be the name of Michael Angelo."

A dramatic moment followed. Edmund Burke, who figured in the throng of illustrious persons present, stepped forward as Reynolds descended from the reading-desk, and grasping his hand, spoke Milton's lines :

"The Angel ended ; and in Adam's ear
So charming left his voice, that he awhile
Thought him still speaking, still stood fixed to hear."

The voice which Burke admired was not heard again in that hall. Reynolds died at his house in Leicester Square on February 23, 1792. His executors, Burke, Malone, and Metcalfe, at once approached Sir William Chambers with a suggestion that the body should be laid in state at Somerset House. Chambers, as trustee of the building, raised objection on the ground that such a ceremony could not be permitted under the terms of the trust ; whereupon the King intervened with an order that the proposal should be carried out. Accordingly on Friday, March 2nd, the body was carried to the Antique Room, which had been draped with black and lighted by wax lights set in silver sconces. Next morning at 10.30 the members of the Academy assembled in the Exhibition Room, the pall-bearers and other distinguished men in the Council Chamber and the Library. The procession started at 12.30, and the first of the ninety-one carriages which followed reached St. Paul's before the last had left the quadrangle at Somerset House. The pall-bearers were the Dukes of Dorset, Leeds, and Portland, the Marquises of Townshend and Abercorn, the Earls of Carlisle, Inchiquin, and Ossory, Viscount Palmerston, and Lord Eliot. The whole body of the Academy and the students, and sixty of the most distinguished men of England were present at the interment in

the crypt of St. Paul's near the grave of Wren ; and the sense of loss extended even to the crowds which lined the streets. "Never," wrote Burke, "was a funeral attended with so much sincere concern of all sorts of people."

Soon after this event, and probably not long before the death of Sir William Chambers, the irrepressible Anthony Pasquin again applied his acrid satire to the building operations at Somerset House. His remarks are not as a rule distinguished either by knowledge or good taste, but they are often lively enough to be entertaining. His reference to the incidents of Reynolds' valedictory discourse shall represent his quality :

"That part of this inconsistent lapidific accumulation which is appropriated to the polite arts is admitted to be unexceptionable. The principal room, dedicated to the purposes of lectureship and the annual exhibition, cannot be approached except by a spiral staircase as high as Jacob's ladder ; which, luckily for the lecturer and the exhibitors, turns the heads of the visitors before they can either hear or examine. In Sir Joshua Reynolds' presidency the floor gave way and sank many inches, when Burke and a few more of the *illuminati* were eagerly listening to a theme they could not comprehend. The company shrieked, Burke prayed, and the gods suspended the mischief. It is piteous that all these disasters had not occurred more recently, as then the erratic *Swede* might have imputed them to a partial shock from Brothers' predicted earthquake, and thus have covered his honour by coming in for a slice of the alarming prophecy."

Sir Joshua Reynolds was succeeded in the presidency by Sir Benjamin West, West by Sir Thomas Lawrence, and Lawrence by Sir Martin Archer Shee ; but excepting these changes in the *personnel* of the Academy, the advent of new members and the disappearance of the old, little

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Photo] PORTRAITS OF REYNOLDS, CHAMBERS, AND JOSEPH WILTON.
National Portrait Gallery,
John Francis Rigaud, R.A.
[*Every Picture*,
To face page 231.

can be recorded of the gradual progress of the institution. In 1783 George Michael Moser, chaser and enameller, enthusiastic supporter and first keeper of the Academy, died in his rooms at Somerset House. He was succeeded by Carlini, who, it is said, used to walk from his house in St. Marylebone to his office at the Academy smoking a broken clay pipe and clad in deplorable clothes. On state occasions, however, Carlini could dress with the best of them. He invariably arrived at the annual banquet in a sedan chair, and wearing a purple silk coat and breeches, scarlet gold-laced waistcoat, point-lace ruffle, sword and bag. Joseph Wilton, the sculptor, was elected keeper in 1790. He occupied the official apartments, and died there on the 25th of November, 1803. Often during his tenancy at Somerset House he might have been seen perambulating the Quadrangle, gold-headed cane in hand, clothed in the height of fashion, and bearing himself with a dignified demeanour. He was hospitable, gentlemanly, elegant, but inherited wealth had by this time put an end to his artistic career. Fuseli, the painter, followed him as keeper in 1804, and held the office till his death. He was exceedingly popular among the students, more, perhaps, for his lively wit than for his good-humoured but futile efforts as a disciplinarian. On one occasion while the students were waiting to be admitted to the schools they made so great a hubbub that Fuseli, losing patience, rushed out of his office into the hall and bellowed this rebuke: "By God! You are a pack of wild beasts, and I the poor devil of a keeper!" Another anecdote tells of his bruising his shins against a box carelessly left on the floor of the model academy by a student: "Bless my heart! bless my heart!" he exclaimed. "I see one thing. I must wear spectacles upon my shins as well as upon my nose." Fuseli died in 1825 in the house of a friend

at Putney Hill. His body was brought to Somerset House, carried thence to St. Paul's, and interred between the graves of Reynolds and Opie.

Another funeral conducted from Somerset House was that of Sir Benjamin West on the 29th of March, 1820. It was arranged on a scale of great magnificence, and the procession which emerged from the vestibule included many of the most notable men of the day. The grave was in the crypt of St. Paul's, near to those of Chambers and Wren.

A reference to the exhibition of 1824, printed in a journal known as the *Somerset House Gazette*, gives an impression of the times: "On Tuesday and Wednesday last the metropolitan chairmen were in general requisition, and all the streets and avenues north and west of the Strand were pouring their tributary streams to the great graphic reservoir of Somerset House. When we look retrospectively and recollect the same scene passing half a century ago when our late venerable sovereign inquired with parental interest what was preparing for the honour of the national school which he founded; and awaking as it were from the fond reverie and look about us and behold the active porters bearing to the old consecrated spot new tributes of genius wrought by those who were then unborn and from streets and squares then not existing, we sigh, and think of our grey hairs and the friends of our youth." The passage is of interest also as showing the benign conventionality of the editor's outlook and the grammatical vicissitudes which accompanied his efforts with the pen. Apparently unheralded, the publication from which we have quoted, came forth into the world on the 11th of October, 1823, at the price of sixpence for sixteen quarto pages. Then its title was merely *Somerset House, a weekly miscellany of Fine Arts, Antiquities, and Literary Chit-chat*, but in less than three

months it became the *Somerset House Gazette*, and not long afterwards overwhelmed and absorbed one of its contemporaries, the *Literary Museum*. Now full-fledged, it issued as—

SOMERSET HOUSE GAZETTE

AND
LITERARY MUSEUM;

OR

WEEKLY MISCELLANY OF FINE ARTS, ANTIQUITIES,
AND

LITERARY CHIT-CHAT

Containing Original essays and correspondence on all branches of the Fine Arts, Copious notices of the Public Exhibitions, Biography of distinguished Painters, Poets, Musicians, Actors, &c., &c. Reviews of New Publications, Drama, Opera, &c. Literary and Scientific Intelligence, &c., &c.

EDITED BY

EPHRAIM HARDCASTLE

AUTHOR OF WINE AND WALNUTS.

Little intelligence of a purely scientific kind can be discovered in its pages. Its antiquarian and curious interests are, however, considerable, and it reflects the activities of the Royal Academy and other artistic bodies with much devotion. But notwithstanding the accretion of the *Literary Museum* with an able staff, the *Somerset House Gazette*, price sixpence, ended, on the 25th of September, 1824, with as little stir as that with which it had begun.

Talk of the Academy's removal westward occurs in 1832. What is now the National Gallery in Trafalgar Square was at that time being built, and the proposal to house the Academy in part of the new edifice was eventually followed. The rooms at Somerset House had long been inadequate for the purposes they were required to fulfil, and in abandoning them for the more commodious home in Trafalgar Square the Academicians experienced little regret. The exhibition of 1836, which included 1,154 works, was the last held at Somerset House. On Saturday, the 17th of December following, a farewell dinner was arranged in the Council Chamber, and there the members

met for the last time in the old rooms, William IV. formally installing them at Trafalgar Square on the 28th of April, 1837.

At the Academy's departure the most valuable of the decorations in the rooms it had occupied were taken down and utilised in the new abode. Later they were transferred to Burlington House, where they may now be seen. Sir Benjamin West and Angelica Kauffmann's panels and Carlini's bust of George III. are in the vestibule; Reynolds' splendid figure of "Theory" and Nollekens' "Cupid and Psyche" hang in the Diploma Gallery. There remain at Somerset House the ceilings and chimney-pieces designed by Chambers, and four panels by Cipriani in the room which was formerly the Library.

Many of the apartments now vacant were at once handed over to the *Department of Practical Art, or Government School of Design*, which had been established under the Board of Trade as the result of a Royal Commission of Inquiry held in 1835. The object of this institution was the improvement of ornamental art with regard especially to the staple manufactures of this country. It was maintained by an annual grant from Parliament, and received students on the recommendation of any householder. It represents the beginning of the great movement which is now centred at South Kensington, and has its branches in every town and village in the Kingdom. In those days the course comprehended elementary drawing in outline with pencil, shading with chalk after engraved examples, shading from casts, chiaroscuro painting, colouring, drawing the figure after engraved copies, drawing the figure from casts, painting the figure from casts, geometrical drawing applied to ornament, perspective modelling from engraved copies, &c. Every student was required to draw the human figure and to pass through the elementary classes before taking the general course. The school was open for



(σ, δ)

MEETING OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY.



public inspection every Monday from 11 to 3, and had accommodation for 200 students. Artists still living recollect their student days at Somerset House.

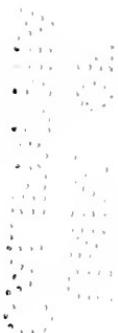
One or two of the Academy's rooms were, however, reserved for the *University of London*, a board of examiners established in 1837 for conferring degrees on the graduates of University College, King's College, Stepney College, Highbury College, and Homerton College, and for the advancement of religion, morality, and useful knowledge without distinction of rank, sect, or party.

The Royal Society was by no means so fortunate in its coming to Somerset House as was its infant partner in the Royal favour. Far less than the genial gifts of Art do the beneficent activities of Science stand in the popular esteem ; it was so in 1663, when the Royal Society was formed ; it will be so as long as the Arts flourish. The social value of the man of science is, generally speaking, *nil* ; with inconspicuous devotion he pursues Knowledge for herself alone : the artist, on the other hand, has everywhere the *entrée* of circles above his own, and often measures his professional success in terms of social enterprise. George III. was interested in the Royal Society perhaps more keenly than Charles II., who is associated with its foundation : he was liberal with his privy purse when a project failed for want of funds, but in the disposal of the apartments at Somerset House the social importance of the Academy had nearly deprived the Society of any room at all. When accommodation was first offered, a deputation was sent to inspect the proposed apartments, and a correspondence ensued with Sir William Chambers from which it is evident that the Society seriously contemplated declining the offer even at the discomfort of continuing its occupation of the dingy house in Crane Court, Charing Cross. But Chambers was conciliatory, and offered any modification of the available space which might commend itself.

taining the signatures of its Royal founder and the fellows. Busts of Charles II. and George III., by Nollekens, and another of Newton, by Roubillac, stood in the Library and Council Room.

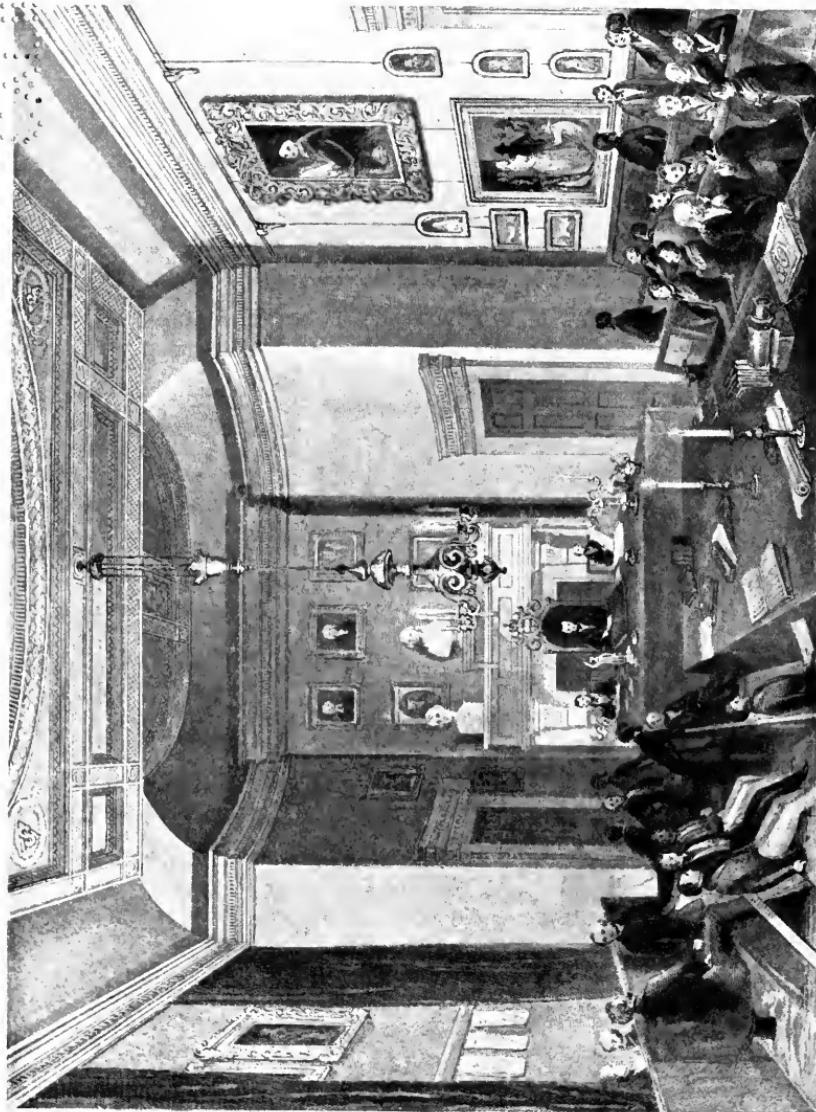
Eclipsed in social interest by the Academy, and having no periodic exhibition to attract the popular favour, the Society was nevertheless not without its sensations. In the rooms at Somerset House many discoveries of startling and profound importance were first made known, and men whose names we are accustomed to associate with perpetual honour here foregathered for friendship and mutual help. The earliest announcement came in 1781. It was of the discovery of a new planet by Sir William Herschel, who suggested that it should be called Georgium Sidus, in acknowledgment of the King's bountiful liberality, particularly in the matter of the new apartments; but his suggestion was reasonably opposed, and the planet became known as Uranus. Then came the controversy on the composition of water, Herschel's great reflector, Young's undulatory theory of light, the electrical experiments of Volta, Faraday, Ohm, Davy, and Wheatstone; John Dalton's theory of atoms, Brewster's researches in polarisation, Buckland's in natural history, Lyell's in geology, and Sir John Herschel's in astronomy. For some time the Society took great interest in the invention of Babbage's calculating machine, and it was largely due to its influence that the Government was induced to encourage Mr. Babbage with financial support. Now, all that remains of the epoch-marking machine is deposited in the South Kensington Museum.

Numerous bequests of books and scientific instruments at length encumbered the rooms and corridors of Somerset House to such an extent that when, in 1856, more spacious accommodation was offered at Burlington House, the Society gladly rejoined its old neighbour, the Academy. The



MEETING OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES.

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Geological, Geographical, and Astronomical Societies, all of which had origin in the Royal Society during its tenure at Somerset House, took over the vacated rooms, and thus secured for the remainder of their stay a more commodious lodging.

The Society of Antiquaries entered by the same door as the Royal Society. Its meetings were held in a large room on the first floor, with three windows looking upon the Strand, and a ceiling of graceful design. Its library occupied a room on the ground floor. This institution was founded in 1707 by Wanley, Bagford, and Talman, but as early as 1580 meetings of antiquaries were held in London, and in these the Society may claim to have originated. George II., in 1751, granted it a Charter, and in 1780 George III. set aside accommodation for it at Somerset House. The proceedings of the Society are contained in a long series of volumes entitled *Archæologia*, and furnish much curious and minute information. The Society's library and museum included many objects of value: a large collection of early proclamations interspersed with ballads, many of them unique; Porter's map of London in Charles I.'s time; portraits of Edward IV., Richard III., Mary I.; a portrait of the Marquis of Winchester, dated 1571, and another by Sir Antonio More of John Schoreel (his Flemish master). The rooms were also decorated by portraits of many well-known antiquaries.

It is a strange circumstance that, though the Society was located at Somerset House for a period of ninety-three years, it should not have busied itself with the history of that foundation. Its proceedings contain little information on the subject, and if we deny its claim to the able researches of Samuel Pegge,¹ no original contribution stands to its credit. The few relics of old Somerset House now existing are of little moment. Five tombstones taken from Henrietta

¹ See *Curalia*, Part IV., 1806.

Maria's chapel are built into the walls of the passage leading under the Quadrangle from east to west, but they have suffered considerable defacement, and the inscriptions are not clearly legible. These constitute the only authentic memorial of the old structure. A statement was at one time current that when the chapel was destroyed the altar screen was preserved, and its principal columns set up in the hall of the Royal Academy ; but as the columns in that hall cannot be identified with any members of the altar screen as delineated in the drawings of the chapel issued in 1757, the tradition has not been verified.

Of the several Government offices occupying the building, the titles alone convey as much information as is acceptable concerning their interior economies. In the days of the stamp duty on newspapers the Quadrangle often presented a busy appearance. Every news-sheet issued throughout the kingdom was first stamped by hand, and daily the papermakers' carts brought in bales of paper intended for the Press.

The operations of the Stamping Department were then carried on in the basement rooms at the south-east corner of the Quadrangle, and as no embankment existed to protect the rooms from the damp airs of the river, the plight of the stamping officers had almost evoked a note of sympathy in harsh voice of Anthony Pasquin : "In these damp, black, and comfortless recesses," he writes, "the clerks of the nation grope about like moles immersed in Tartarean gloom, and stamp, sign, examine, indite, doze, and swear as unconscious of the revolving sun as so many miserable demons of romance condemned to toil for ages in the centre. Methinks I hear the Isle of Portland mourn for this misapplication and prostitution of its entrails !" The Stamp Office was originally unconnected with that of the Affairs of Taxes, but in 1834 the two were united, and under one Board of Stamps and Taxes were carried on until the Board

University of
California



IN THE NAVY MUSEUM.

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of Inland Revenue was established by the consolidation of the Board of Stamps and Taxes with that of the Excise in 1849.

For nearly a century, more than one-third of the building was occupied by the various branches of the Admiralty. The great apartment in the centre of the south front, measuring 57 feet long by 37 feet wide, was devoted to an exhibition of models of typical ships and other objects illustrating the history, progress, and importance of the Navy. It was open to the public daily, and formed one of the attractions which, until the collection was removed to Greenwich, brought crowds to visit Somerset House. According to Peter Cunningham, author of the *Handbook of London* and many other works, the following anecdote was related by one of his senior colleagues at the Audit Office. "When I first came to this building," he said, "I was in the habit of seeing for many mornings a thin, spare naval officer with only one arm enter the vestibule at a smart step and make direct for the Admiralty over the rough paving-stones of the Quadrangle instead of taking, what others generally took and continue to take, the smooth pavement at the sides. His thin, frail figure shook at every step, and I often wondered why he chose so rough a foot-way; but I ceased to wonder when I heard that the thin, frail officer was no other than Lord Nelson."

In 1834 the newly-appointed Poor Law Commission (now absorbed in the Local Government Board) was accommodated in the north block, and about the same time the office of the Tithe and Copyhold Commissioners was also established there. Later still the Seamen's Registry occupied a room on the ground floor to the west of the Strand entrance.

While the Naval Museum and other popular attractions remained, Somerset House was visited daily by large numbers of people. On Sundays the terrace overlooking the Thames

was opened to the public, and many of the poorer class resorted thither to enjoy the view. It was, perhaps, the finest promenade in London. On the east the scene included St. Paul's, the Tower, the Monument, and numerous city churches, on the west the Abbey and Lambeth Palace, and on the south the Surrey hills. The river itself was full of interest and animation. Coasting barges with picturesque ochre-coloured sails tacked from side to side, and the rowing boat had not yet gone out of fashion. The retirement of this spot, compared with the incessant bustle of the Strand, was not the least of its attractions. Crabbe wrote some lines "in the solitude of Somerset House" one Sunday in July, 1817, comparing its quiet with that of the sands of Arabia; but he must have been either too late or too early for the crowd. Mr. Charles Weld, who became secretary of the Royal Society in 1843 and occupied rooms in the north block, tells how during the first months of his residence there he was surprised by observing the visitors invariably cross the Quadrangle in a straight line, and, planting themselves within a convenient distance of the opposite wall, gaze eagerly upwards and point always to one spot. Unable to find any explanation of this strange behaviour, he asked an older resident the reason of it, and heard for the first time a story which is still current in remote parts of the country. Over the doorway of the Stamp Office (now the left-hand entrance to the Probate Registry) was a white watch-face, regarding which there existed a popular belief that it was placed there by a labourer who fell from a scaffold at the top of the building and was only saved from destruction by the ribbon of his watch, which caught on a projecting timber. As a memorial of his miraculous escape he afterwards desired that his watch might be placed as near as possible to the spot where his life had been saved. Such was the story told fifty times a week to gaping listeners—a story which need not be denied,

though the labourer's watch was nothing more than a dial placed there by the Royal Society as a meridian mark for a portable transit instrument in one of the windows of their ante-room. Having wondered sufficiently over the reckless gratitude of the labouring man, the week-day visitor betook himself to the model-room at the Admiralty, the Sunday visitor to lounge on the terrace, or perchance to count the 3,600 windows enumerated by a painter who contracted for the outside repairs of the building. But by and by the loiterer lost the taste for merely lounging, and fell into mischief to while away the hours. The stonework and sculpture suffered extensive mutilation by his practice of carving names upon them, and it at length became necessary to close the gates of the terrace on Sundays as well as on week-days. Thenceforward only the inhabitants of the building were supplied with keys, though a few favoured residents in the neighbourhood appear to have succeeded in procuring them. Mr. Chapman, the publisher, was one of these; and when in the early fifties Herbert Spencer joined the staff of the *Economist*, then located at No. 340, Strand, almost opposite Somerset House, it was the loan of Mr. Chapman's key which favoured the young philosopher in his philanderings. The story is fully related in his autobiography :—

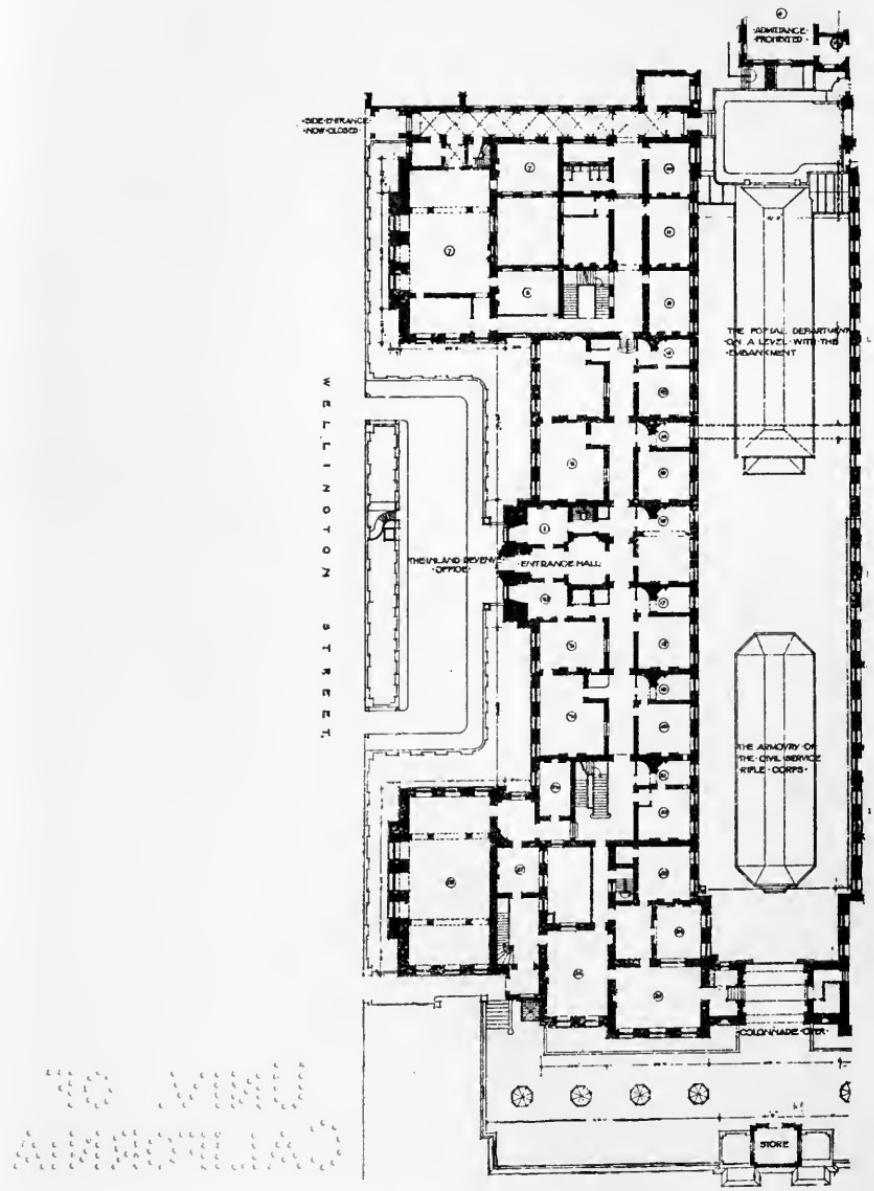
" As the season advanced our conversations were no longer always indoors or at places of amusement. Our most frequent outdoor conversations occurred during walks along a quiet promenade near at hand. In those days before the Thames embankment was made, the southern basement of Somerset House rose directly out of the water; and the only noises on that side came from the passing steamboats. From end to end this basement is surmounted by a balustrade, and behind the balustrade runs a long terrace, at that time as little invaded by visitors as by sounds. The terrace is shut off by a gate from one of the

courts of Somerset House. Chapman had obtained a key of this gate ; whether by favour or by some claim attaching to his house, the back of which abutted on Somerset House, I do not know. Frequently on fine afternoons in May, June, and July *she* obtained the key ; and we made our way on to the terrace, where we paced backwards and forwards for an hour or so, discussing many things.

“Of course, as we were frequently seen together, people drew their inferences. Very slight evidence suffices the world for positive conclusions ; and here the evidence seemed strong. Naturally, therefore, quite definite statements became current. There were reports that I was in love with her and that we were about to be married. But neither of these reports was true.”

The lady was Mary Ann Evans—George Eliot.

UNIVERSITY OF
EDINBURGH



GROUND PLAN OF THE NEW WING.

*From a drawing by Mr. Harold Hillyer, reproduced by his kind permission
and that of the Editor of "The British Architect."*

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CHAPTER VII

THE NATIONAL BEEHIVE

SINCE the early fifties the growth of the Revenue Departments has gradually forced one after another of the original occupants of Somerset House to seek accommodation elsewhere. The consolidation of the Board of Excise with that of Stamps and Taxes, involved the abandonment of the old Excise Office in the City and the gathering of the whole Head Office staff of the Inland Revenue Department under the one roof at Somerset House. Want of space soon necessitated the removal of the office of the Duchy of Cornwall from its apartments next the Tax Office in the east wing, to premises specially designed for it at Buckingham Palace. At the same time the official residences attached to the Admiralty were ordered to be vacated, and plans were prepared for the erection of a new wing covering the whole of the available space on the west between the existing edifice and the approach to Waterloo Bridge.

This important work was carried out by Mr. James Pennethorne, Surveyor and Architect to the Government. Though undistinguished in the popular mind, Pennethorne has left a more noticeable mark upon modern London than any single architect since Wren. Born at Worcester in

1801, he came to London in 1820 as a pupil of John Nash, the architect of Carlton House Terrace. From 1822 to 1824 he studied the Gothic style in the office of Augustus Pugin, and then left England for France, Italy, and Sicily. While in Rome he made a design for the restoration of the Forum, the merits of which secured his election as a member of the Academy of St. Luke. Returning to London in 1826, he took a leading position in Nash's office, and, as his principal assistant, directed the West Strand and King William Street improvements. Not long afterwards he was employed directly by the Government to prepare plans for further operations in the Metropolis. One of his aims appears to have been the construction of a trunk thoroughfare from the extreme east to the extreme west of London, but this proved too ambitious for an economic Treasury, and was abandoned. Other schemes were submitted, however, and in a much mutilated form eventually carried out. These included the building of New Oxford Street, Cranbourn Street, Endell Street, and Commercial Street, E., and the total cost exceeded £1,000,000. By request of the Government, Pennethorne now relinquished his private practice to devote himself entirely to official works. Between 1840 and 1850 he surveyed, planned, and laid out Victoria Park and its approaches, Battersea Park, and Kennington Park. Later he elaborated a scheme for a great northern park to be called Albert Park, and although this project was not realised, Finsbury Park now occupies a small portion of the district he proposed to enclose. He designed the Museum of Practical Geology in Jermyn Street, the Public Record Office in Chancery Lane, the Duchy of Cornwall Office, and other extensive works at Buckingham Palace and in the neighbourhood, and the University of London, Burlington Gardens. The buildings which were altered or improved under his direction are numerous, and many of his finest and most ambitious designs were put aside alto-





VIEW OF WELLINGTON STREET IN 1832,
Showing rear of the Old Admiralty Residences.

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gether. He died in 1871, soon after receiving the honour of knighthood.

The new wing of Somerset House fronting Lancaster Place is, with the possible exception of the University building in Burlington Gardens, Pennethorne's most successful work. At the time of its erection it attracted widespread attention and evoked a spontaneous testimony to the esteem in which Pennethorne was held, in the form of a letter of congratulation addressed to him by seventy-five of his fellow-architects—

“LONDON, July 1, 1856.

“DEAR SIR,—Your professional brethren are anxious to congratulate you on the successful completion of your design for the western wing of Somerset House, in which at the time that you have adhered to the taste and style of the original edifice, and have done full justice to the genius of Chambers, you have adapted these additions to a difficult site with great propriety, and thereby produced a striking architectural feature in the entrance to London by Waterloo Bridge.”

The letter continues in adulatory terms to speak of other work on which Pennethorne had been engaged, and among its signatories are Philip Hardwick, C. R. Cockerell, Charles Barry, Decimus Burton, and Sydney Smirke.

The work of digging out the site was begun in the latter part of 1851. Hitherto the east side of Lancaster Place was described as a row of ungainly brick dwelling-houses springing out of a deep pit. This reference doubtless applied to the back parts of the official residences attached to the Admiralty, which, as we have seen, fronted the rear of the West Wing of the Quadrangle. When the New Wing was built only the back parts of those houses were demolished, the fronts and certain other main walls being left standing

and afterwards embodied in Pennethorne's structure.¹ The new foundations were carried 14 feet below the level of high water, and so constructed as effectually to resist all encroachment from strong tides or a swollen river. Building operations began on the 2nd of January, 1852, and were afterwards pursued with the utmost vigour. By daylight and gaslight a gang of workmen was employed in wheeling concrete from barges moored alongside into the floors of the foundations, which were thus formed to a depth of several feet before the first course of masonry was superimposed. Towards the end of 1855 the hoarding in Lancaster Place was removed, but at that time work upon various details was still in progress, particularly in the north wing, which included the construction of the short stone façade constituting the entrance to the new block from the main Quadrangle. The whole was finished by midsummer, 1856.

The frontage to Lancaster Place is about 350 feet long. At its south end the new building terminated some 20 feet behind the river façade, so that the proportions and general effect of the original design might be undisturbed ; but, notwithstanding this precaution, uninformed modern critics have mistaken Pennethorne's additions for part of the original plan, and lamented the supposed incompleteness of the river front at its eastern extremity. Pennethorne's design consists in a deeply-recessed centre and two wings advanced to the line of the street. It was the architect's object to harmonise his work with that of Sir William Chambers, and in this he has achieved conspicuous success. The details of the new wing were copied from those of the main building, and the same designs of entablature, columns, and capitals as distinguish the river front were followed in the façade of

¹ The dressings of the windows, corresponding with the doorways of the old Admiralty residences, and the rain-water pipes, bearing the monogram of George III., constitute the main argument in proof of this.



THE NEW WING: FRONT TOWARDS WELLINGTON STREET.

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Lancaster Place. The recessed block and the fronts of the two wings are, however, crowned by an attic, and the windows of the third storey are heightened to admit more light. The central feature of the façade is composed of columns of Corinthian order with entablature and balustrade, surmounted by six sculptured figures representing the principal manufacturing towns of the kingdom ; above the figures rises a bold pediment topped by a seated figure of Britannia, and flanked at the lateral angles by seahorses. The tympanum of the pediment and the frieze connecting it with the attic storey are richly carved, the principal ornament being the Royal Arms. Over the entrance doorway are grouped figures of History and Fame. Crowning the lateral wings are sculptures copied from the attic storey of the north front, and flanking the colonnades are alto-relievo medallions taken from examples in the Quadrangle. The artist employed in this work was Mr. William Theed, better known by his group symbolising "Africa" at the north-east angle of the Albert Memorial in Kensington Gardens. The total cost of the operations, stated at £81,123, was defrayed out of the proceeds of the sale of the old Excise Office in Broad Street.

In the ample premises thus provided the Board of Inland Revenue was installed at the close of 1856, and the centralised headquarters staff of the Excise, Stamps and Taxes services was now enabled to carry on its multifarious activities in well-arranged and commodious apartments. The immediate result of these changes was the development of a more perfect machinery for the collection of all internal taxes levied by Act of Parliament and a consequent economy in the cost of administration. To the passionless instrument of the law the penny is as important as the pound, and no man escapes taxation because his liability is inconsiderable. The net is cast with a sweep which enfolds all, and its myriad meshes yield a draught wherein the tiniest fish has

been calmly, deliberately taken. Occasionally *The Times* may derive a half-column of free copy from the whining protest of an individual who has been hard hit, but such cases have their counterpart in the fraudulent persons who escape ; and from the generally smooth working of the various Acts it can only be judged that the large majority of taxpayers have been treated reasonably, and are satisfied that justice will not fail in other cases. The explanation of this happy condition of things does not rest altogether in the amendments which have been made in the law ; substantially the law has remained unchanged for a hundred years ; it rests rather in the improved methods of administration and the comprehensive manner in which even the smallest source of revenue is supervised and its yield brought to account.

That circumstances were once far otherwise is shown by the history of the Excise and its relationship with the hazardous but profitable pursuit of smuggling. Like the Income Tax, its great rival in point of productiveness and popular disfavour, the Excise was borrowed from the Dutch, whose ingenuity in affairs of finance and taxation has earned for their country the title of "*la terre classique de la fiscalité.*" As early as 1626 an abortive attempt was made to submit the English manufacturer to an Excise. In a tract entitled *A Declaration and Protestation against the Illegal and Detestable and Oft-contemned New Tax and Extortion of Excise in General and for Hops, a Native and Uncertain Commodity, in Particular,* the undaunted pugnacity of William Prynne again associates itself with the history of Somerset House. This tract, issued in 1654, describes how the late beheaded King Charles, by the advice of the Duke of Buckingham and other evil counsellors, granted a Commission under the Great Seal to thirty-three members of the Privy Council to set on foot an Excise in England. But when the production of the Commission was

moved for in the House of Commons, the scheme was declared by an unanimous vote to be contrary to the principles of the Constitution. At a conference which then took place between the two Houses, Sir Edward Coke, on behalf of the Commons, described the proposed tax as "*Monstrum horrendum, informe, ingens, . . .* whose eyes had been pulled out by the Commons," and appealed to their lordships to second the Commons' action before the monster was fully brought forth to consume and devour the nation. In deference to this agitation the King cancelled the Commission, and the scheme was dropped.

When the struggle between Parliament and the King began, in 1641, Parliament particularly denied reports of its intention "to assess every man's pewter and lay excises upon that and other commodities," and threatened the fabricators of the reports with condign penalties. But notwithstanding this denial and the popular horror of the Dutch tax, in July, 1643, both Lords and Commons agreed to the speedy raising and levying of moneys, "by way of Excise or new impost," for the maintenance of the Parliamentary forces, "until it shall please Almighty God in His mercy to move the King's Majesty's heart to confide and confer with both his Houses of Parliament for the establishment of a blessed and lasting peace." And it was ordained "for the better levying of the moneys hereby to be raised that an office from henceforth be erected and appointed in the city of London, to be called or known by the name of the Office of Excise or new impost, wherof there shall be eight Commissioners to govern the same, and one of them to be Treasurer, with several registrars, collectors, clerks, and other subordinate officers as the Commissioners may determine." The turmoil of the Civil War effectually silenced the opposition with which the "new impost" was met. It was exacted in a rough-and-ready manner, and the want of a proper organisation

at once led to grave abuses. In 1649 a scurrilous pamphlet by "Mary Stiff, charwoman," voices "the good women's cryes against the Excise on all their commodities," and in language far from delicate shows how bitterly the burden was resented. Although at the Restoration it was deemed politic to curtail the extent of the impost, it had proved too valuable a resource to be altogether abolished in a generous hour.

The Excise persisted with little variation until 1733, when Sir Robert Walpole made the first serious endeavour to eradicate the evils of farming and other irregularities which had discredited the system, and designed to establish the impost on a sound and equitable basis. Notwithstanding the rigorous laws which had been enacted for its protection, the tax was constantly avoided in the most flagrant and outrageous manner. It became the motive of every kind of corruption and violence, and the hatred it aroused in the popular mind was often accompanied by a dogged determination to escape payment. The highwaymen who openly pursued their calling on all the roads to London had their counterpart in the desperate class who carried on the trade of smuggling along the coast. No crime was too violent for these hardened scamps: they murdered the Revenue officers, set fire to the Custom-houses, and rode in armed gangs on the banks of the Thames within six miles of London. It was shown before a Royal Commission appointed in 1732 to inquire into the Excise, that not only had the mercantile class been guilty of gross dishonesty in their dealings with the Revenue, but that the officers themselves had plundered to an enormous extent. In 1728 alone fifty tons of tobacco were stolen or "socked" from incoming vessels and deposited in houses between London Bridge and Woolwich. For these frauds 150 officers were dismissed the service and several were prosecuted at the public expense. Five

years later, when referring to this circumstance, Walpole observed : "It is not a little remarkable, when we recollect the professions of patriotism, virtue, and disinterestedness which are now so copiously poured forth, that not a single merchant, though the facts were so notorious and shameful, assisted the State, either by information or pecuniary exertion, to suppress the fraud or bring the delinquents to punishment." In the proposals now put forward tobacco was subjected to Excise duty as well as Customs duty, and a system of collection was outlined which in its main features corresponded with the present system of the bonded warehouse. But the feeling throughout the country was strongly opposed to any enlargement of the obnoxious Excise, and interested persons did not scruple to adopt every means of fomenting hostility. The proposals were hotly debated in Parliament, and at length Walpole secured a majority, 260 voting for and 205 against the measure. But so great was the popular disgust at his success that he voluntarily abandoned the scheme. The catch-phrase of "Liberty, Property, and no Excise" instantly went up in jubilant chorus, and the occasion was celebrated with all the rejoicing of a great national triumph. London kindled bonfires, rang its bells, and lit up the Monument, and the demonstrations throughout the provinces were not less fervent. All agreed to vilify the "monster project." Blackstone, writing in 1765, says that "from its first original to the present time its very name has been odious to the people of England"; while "the great Dr. Johnson" defines it in his dictionary as "a hateful tax levied upon commodities, and adjudged, not by the common judges of property, but wretches hired by those to whom Excise is paid."

For fifty years after Walpole's discomfiture no minister meddled with the Excise. It was reserved for Pitt to introduce measures identical in nature with those which

Walpole had abandoned, and to find the people acquiescent. In 1784 he imposed a tax on bricks, and several classes of traders were compelled to take out licences ; in 1786, as a means of preventing fraud, he transferred the greater part of the duty on imported commodities from the Customs to the Excise ; and in 1789 he instituted the practice of submitting the manufacture of dutiable articles to the survey of the Revenue officer. At one time during the war with France no fewer than twenty-nine articles were excisable, and Pitt might have boasted his power to carry any fiscal measure he thought desirable.

Prior to 1823, the Excise revenues of Scotland and Ireland were controlled by separate Boards. In that year, however, these were consolidated with the English Board, and under the Board of Excise for the United Kingdom thus formed, the system of "bonding" and other improved methods of administration were at once introduced. Gradually the trade of the smuggler, so extensively practised in the earlier decades of the century, was rendered too hazardous to be profitable, and though during the sixties isolated cases were not infrequent, systematic and wholesale evasion had ceased. Little by little a better understanding of the principles of taxation led to a large restriction in the number of dutiable articles : the taxes on salt, leather, glass, bricks, candles, soap, paper, &c., disappeared, and to-day 97 per cent. of the Excise revenue is derived from the duty on spirits and beer. The process of collection has been rendered complete and unerring in its operation, and the old feeling against the Excise happily transferred to the abhorrent intimacies of the Income Tax.

Here at once the romantic atmosphere is dispelled : the smuggler and the highwayman give place to the coward and the chartered fraud ; open, devil-may-care crime to solitary vice. Yet for the large-eyed philosopher what

fields of reflection are opened by the inexorable inquisitors of Somerset House! Every post brings its tale of human hearts laid bare, and documents of unique psychological interest, plaintive or abusive, are indifferently weighed against the law. At the present time the Income Tax possesses no serious rival in the popular distaste: it is expensive to collect, and many objections are urged against it on the plea of its inequitable incidence. But it is a much too useful and convenient expedient to be thrown aside. In point of age it is as venerable as the Excise: we owe its introduction to an Act of the Long Parliament passed in 1642. After satisfying the immediate need, however, it fell into disuse until 1798, when, in an inspired moment, Pitt revived it with the dual object of paying for the French War and diverting public attention from his enormous extensions of the Excise. The burden which was then laid upon the taxpayer was a graduated percentage of his total income. The limit of exemption was £60; incomes between £60 and £65 suffered a tax of $\frac{1}{120}$ th, and the proportion was increased step by step until the rate of $\frac{1}{10}$ th, or 10 per cent., was reached on all incomes exceeding £200. The tax was the subject of a strong and clearly-stated criticism by Lord Holland, who pointed out that "it visited incomes derived from permanent and disposable capital, those arising from precarious and temporary possessions, and those from labour, talents, and industry at the same rate, and was, therefore, unjust, unequal, and impolitic." But with the national account overdrawn at the Bank, and all money payments suspended, nice considerations of equity could not be allowed to overthrow a scheme from which so much was expected. As soon as the emergency was past, however, the tax was removed, only to be revived again in 1803, by an Act which is for practical purposes the parent or original of the existing statutes. A noticeable feature of this Act is the con-

sideration it extends to the heads of families. Householders with more than two children, and in receipt of incomes between £60 and £400, were allowed a reduction in the rate of 4 per cent. for each child; those having between £400 and £1,000 were allowed 3 per cent., those between £1,000 and £5,000 2 per cent., and those having more than £5,000 1 per cent. for each child. Further modifications were introduced in the Act of 1806, which imposed a heavy duty to meet the expenses of the reopened war. The levy now persisted until 1816, when Parliament refused to sanction it any longer. But in 1842 the tax was reintroduced by Sir Robert Peel, in an Act based on that of 1806, and it has been imposed without intermission ever since. The rate has varied according to the needs of the Exchequer. For two years during the Crimean War it stood at 1s. 4d.; in 1874 it had fallen to 2d.; in 1902 it was raised to 1s. 3d. to meet the enormous outlay on the war in South Africa. Peel calculated that for every penny of the duty he received a return of £800,000; to-day for every penny the return is £2,545,000, or more than three times as much.

Closely associated with the Income Tax is the tax on inhabited houses—house duty, and another tax, which was originally imposed in 1692, upon property and offices generally, but subsequently shifted its incidence so as to bear almost exclusively on landed property, and became known as the Land Tax. During the American War of Independence this tax was levied at the rate of 4s. in the £, but under powers originating in Pitt's arrangements of 1798, when he endeavoured to get rid of the old tax on imposing the new Income "Duty," a considerable portion of the Land Tax has been redeemed. The £725,000 which remains is practically a statutory redeemable rent charge on certain lands in Great Britain.

Another important division of the business conducted

chiefly in the New Wing is that of the Stamps Department. Stamp duties were first imposed in England in 1694, but the existing law is mainly based on the Stamp Act of 1870. In 1902 the total revenue derived from the numerous sources of stamp duty was £9,178,000. This included the remarkable sum of £22,191 arising from the duty on playing-cards.

The mechanical operations carried on in the Stamps Department are of exceptional interest. Legal and commercial stamps are impressed partly by steam-presses located in the basement and partly by hand in rooms on the ground floor, near the entrance from Lancaster Place, where any person requiring to legalise a deed or other document may attend and witness the process. The pedestrian on the Victoria Embankment who notes the clatter of mechanism behind the barred windows under the terrace of Somerset House is listening to the process by which the State makes paper into gold. Stamps of all kinds are here produced, and the machinery by which some of the more elaborate varieties are embossed and printed is both complex and exquisite in its operation. The abolition of the duty on newspapers in 1855 removed a difficult task from the daily routine of this department, and although the developments which have since taken place in the production of stamps have enormously increased the annual output, no arrangement so cumbrous as that of the newspaper stamp is ever likely to be adopted again. Prior to 1840 (the year in which the penny post was inaugurated) postage stamps were non-adhesive, and not until some years later was the machine invented, which, by perforating the edges of the stamp, makes it so easily detachable from the sheet on which it is printed. The inventor of the perforating machine was Mr. Edwin Hill, an elder brother of Sir Rowland Hill. From 1840 to 1872 he had charge of the Stamping Department at Somerset House, and during his tenure of office effected

numerous improvements in the mechanism by which stamps are produced. Postcards were first issued under his supervision in 1870.

The Estate Duty Department now occupying the whole of the West Wing is the modern development of the Legacy Duty Office, which was put in possession of a suite of rooms in the north block soon after that part of the building was completed in 1780. The revenue from Estate Duties now forms one of the chief items in the national balance sheet ; in 1902 no less than £13,850,000 was derived from this source, exclusive of nearly 4½ millions paid to the Local Taxation account. We first hear of death duties in 1694, when a stamp tax of 5s. on probates and letters of administration was granted "for four yeares towards carrying on the warr against France." This charge was, of course, irrespective of the value of the property, and although it was increased to 10s. in 1698 by the Act which made it perpetual, no further development took place until 1779, when the ascending scale of duty was introduced. The original scale was largely extended by subsequent Acts, and in 1804 the duty was graduated in its application to all estates under £500,000. Legacy duty makes its appearance in 1780. At first it was nothing more than a stamp tax on the recipient of the legacy, but by the Act of 1796 it was applied to the property itself, though only personal estate was liable. In 1805, however, the area of taxation was extended to gifts out of real estate, and finally in 1853, under the head of Succession Duty, real estate was charged in the same manner as personal estate as far as regards the life interest of the beneficiary. Although the Act of 1853 was modified in some details by subsequent legislation, no extensive change took place until the Act of 1894, which initiated the grant of Estate duty at a graduated rate chargeable upon the principal value of all property, real or personal, settled or not settled, passing at death. This Act superseded all others in



THE RIVER FRONT,
AS COMPLETED BY THE
ERECTION OF KING'S COLLEGE.



relation to cases arising after August 1, 1894, and largely increased the revenue from death duties.

Since August, 1874, practically the whole of the south front of the Quadrangle has been occupied by the clerical staff of the Probate Court. The removal of the Admiralty to Spring Gardens in 1873 left a vast space vacant, and of this a large part of the West Wing was appropriated by the Board of Inland Revenue for the accommodation of the Special Commissioners Branch, the Income Tax Repayments Branch, and the Legacy and Succession Duty Department. The vaults under the terrace, as well as the rooms in the south front, were handed over to the authorities of the old Will Office in Doctors' Commons, who at once proceeded to convert the vaults into strong rooms for the storage of wills. The earth and defective lead from the crowns of the arches carrying the terrace were removed, and a deep layer of concrete, covered by another of asphalt, substituted, to insure the vaults being waterproof. Into this range of apartments, and a corresponding one in the base of the south front itself, miles of shelving were now fitted, and during the summer of 1874 many tons of the huge folio volumes, which for years had darkened the walls at Doctors' Commons, were transferred to the new depository. Here are stored the original wills for every year since 1483 ; the copies go back a century farther. The latter are written on parchment, strongly bound, and secured with bronze clasps. Prior to the Reformation the wills of each year are compacted into one small volume, but after that time there is a marked increase in the bulk of the yearly volumes. From 1870 onwards the number of volumes filled with wills proved in the Probate Court of London alone exceeds thirty per annum. On payment of a fee of 1s. any person is entitled to examine a will in which he may be interested ; and as at Doctors' Commons there was a depository for the executed wills of living people, so there is now at Somerset

House. Any man or woman in the kingdom not incapacitated from making a will may sign, seal, and deliver on payment of 12s. 6d. his or her last will and testament, to be kept in the depository till his or her death shall make it operative. Whilst it remains in the custody of the Probate Court it is kept in a fireproof room, and cannot again be examined by the testator. It is, however, competent to the testator to annul it wholly or vary it in part by making a fresh will or a codicil, and such fresh will or codicil he may either deposit at Somerset House or retain in his own possession. Many of the documents preserved in this part of the building are highly curious, and many are of great historical value. A visitor properly introduced may examine the wills of Shakespeare, Vandyck, Lord Nelson, Dr. Johnson, Izaak Walton, Inigo Jones, Edmund Burke, William Pitt, Sir Isaac Newton, John Milton, and the Duke of Wellington. Shakespeare's will consists of three folio pages, and as it is of exceptional importance it has been enclosed in an air-tight frame of oak and glass. The will of Napoleon Bonaparte, which formerly figured in the collection, was restored to France in 1853 at the request of the Emperor Louis Napoleon.

The only department now located at Somerset House which is not engaged either directly or indirectly in replenishing the Exchequer is that of the Registrar-General of Births, Marriages, and Deaths. This department occupies the rooms originally designed for the Royal Academy, the Royal Society, and the Society of Antiquaries (*i.e.*, the whole of the Strand front). It was created in 1836 by the passing of an Act for the compulsory registration of all births, marriages, and deaths in England and Wales after the 30th of June, 1837, and the duty of the Registrar-General is to see that every detail of the business of registration is strictly carried out by the various officials on whom the work devolves. The whole of England and Wales is divided into

convenient districts, over each of which a superintendent-registrar is appointed to receive the quarterly returns prepared by the subordinate registrars, the clergy of the Established Church, and other ministers of religion. These returns are then transmitted to Somerset House, where they are minutely examined, arranged, and indexed. Erasures, interpolations, omissions, informalities, and discrepancies of all kinds are brought to light, and any person making a defective entry is at once called upon for an explanation. Separate alphabetical indexes are made of the births, marriages, and deaths occurring in each quarter, and to each entry there is added a reference to the district it affects. Various other precautions are taken to render the registration complete and faultless in arrangement, and to guard against error the original papers are carefully stored in the extensive vaults of the basement.

Prior to 1801 there existed no official returns of the population, and the only plan of ascertaining the annual increase was to take the difference between the number of births and the number of deaths recorded in the parish registers. But as the system of registration then in vogue was a purely voluntary one, the data obtained by means of it were unreliable. The parish register at its best was an imperfect record, but even so it was preferable to none at all. It was first ordered to be kept at the dissolution of the monasteries in 1538. The injunction then issued to the clergy caused great excitement throughout the country, as it was feared the registration might be a preliminary to more burdensome taxation. An ancestor of the Earl of Mount Edgcumbe "scrybelyd in hast" to Thomas Cromwell, on whose initiative the step had been taken, telling him that the King's subjects in Cornwall and Devonshire "be in greate feer and mystrust what the Kyngg's hyghness and his conseyll schulde meane to give in commandement to the parsons and vycars off every parissoe that they schulde make

a book and surely to be kept wherein to be specifyyd the namys off as many as be weddyd and the namys of them that be buryd and off all those that be crystynyd." According to the preface to the population returns of 1831, fully one-half of the parish registers anterior to 1600 have disappeared, and, as we have had occasion to notice in connection with the register kept at Somerset House Chapel, the information supplied by such means even in the eighteenth century is both meagre and inaccurate. Now, instead of hazardous conjecture, through the agency of the General Register Office we possess precise information as to the number and ages of the population, its rate of increase, the influence of occupation and local causes on the rate of mortality, and many other important and indisputable facts. The statistics thus available throw light upon all questions relating to the public health and the social condition of the people, and enable a statesman to take a wide survey of the various interests and activities whose welfare it is his wish to promote.

Many of the rooms on the eastern side of the vestibule, now forming part of the General Register Office, remained until 1873 in the hands of the Society of Antiquaries, the Geological, and Royal Astronomical Societies. In that year the Societies moved to new quarters in Burlington House, and, as we have seen, the Admiralty went to Spring Gardens. About the same time, in order to give facility of access to the Postal Stores of the Stamps Department, the space between the West Wing and the New Wing, which, since the fifties, had been a broad declivity leading from the courtyard to the river, was completely dug out to the level of the recently-constructed Victoria Embankment. It was then found that communication between branches of the Inland Revenue Department located in the West Wing and the main office in the New Wing had been rendered very inconvenient, and

a footbridge was accordingly thrown across at the first floor.

When the New Wing was built, the doorway, with a deep porch next to Duchy House, in Wellington Street, led, by a vaulted corridor, directly into the Quadrangle. Subsequently the passage was stopped, and in that part of the building a post-office was accommodated, to which the clerical staff in the New Wing had access by a private door. Some years ago the post-office was closed, and since that time the doorway into Wellington Street has not been used.

Another important change took place in 1902, when the Exchequer and Audit Department, removing to new premises on the Victoria Embankment, vacated the East Wing. Again the disturbance was caused by the growth of the Inland Revenue Departments. The redistribution which followed placed the branches of the Income Tax Repayments, the Special Commissioners, and the Chief Inspector of Taxes in the East Wing, and left the Estate Duty Department to occupy the whole of the West Wing. To provide additional space the door at the north end of the West Wing was closed, and two staircases, which formerly occupied a large area and were exceedingly inconvenient, were utilised in extending the adjoining apartments and making the corridors continuous from end to end of the building.

The chief control of the Inland Revenue services—Excise, Stamps and Taxes, and Estate Duty—is still located in the New Wing. Here also is the department of the Accountant-General, who, year by year, turns over two-thirds of the national income. To-day Somerset House is little else than a vast labyrinth of offices for gathering in the State millions. The activities of which it is the centre extend invisibly to the remotest parts of the kingdom, and their sole objective is gold. They are the

mainspring of the Exchequer ; we depend upon them to maintain our national integrity ; they keep our fleets upon the seven seas and our legions ready for battle ; they educate our children ; they sustain the price of consols. They have poured into the Treasury in a single year one hundred million pounds.



KING'S COLLEGE.

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CHAPTER VIII

KING'S COLLEGE

NO greater activity was ever manifested in promoting the educational welfare of London than that which characterised the foundation of King's College. With the close of the French War, in 1815, began a period of rest and recuperation, out of which by and by grew a movement towards domestic reform under the influence of Canning and Huskisson. This movement was particularly marked in the direction of education. People of all classes exhibited the desire for knowledge, and in many quarters the value of technical training in connection with industrial and commercial progress was fully recognised. The interest aroused by the establishment of "British" and "National" Schools under religious control already showed the necessity for public measures, but although the Parliamentary Committee of 1816 recommended immediate steps for the benefit of the Metropolis, all further action on the part of the Government was delayed. For the poorer classes there was as yet practically no provision of teaching except such as was supplied by the voluntary exertion of philanthropists, and even the well-to-do in quest of a higher education than was obtainable in the old-established collegiate schools had no alternative but the narrow curriculum of Oxford or Cambridge. But the conception of the principles of education which had hitherto prevailed, and

found in the two Universities ideal exemplification, now gave way before a general assertion of the intrinsic value of knowledge. The classical system, after centuries of unchallenged predominance, was suddenly subordinated to one which aimed at specialisation and the fitting of a student for the work of his after-life. The founding of University College in 1826 showed how deeply this new idea had taken root. Its curriculum embraced a far wider field than that of any other institution ; new subjects were co-ordinated with the old and theology was boldly excluded. This last provision naturally excited alarm in the leaders of the Church of England. They foresaw that the refusal to recognise religion in the educational system of an institution relying solely on instruction, and lacking the moral training inherent in the life of the residential school, might lead to results of the utmost detriment to a large section of the population ; and at once they considered by what means the evil could be avoided.

Among those who thus testified their jealousy for the claims of theology the Reverend George D'Oyly, D.D., Rector of Lambeth, occupied a prominent place. Indeed, in a resolution passed by the Council of King's College at its first meeting after Dr. D'Oyly's death in 1846 it was stated that "by giving the first impulse and direction to public opinion he was virtually the founder of the College." His letter to Sir Robert Peel, criticising the purely secular system established at University College, was probably the earliest expression of the Church's view regarding the radical change which that institution had initiated, and it very quickly led to organised efforts in the direction of a counter-move. These took form in a meeting of the friends of King's College, held at the Freemasons' Tavern on Saturday, the 21st of June, 1828, under the presidency of the Duke of Wellington. Already the King had signified his approbation of the project, to which in due time he

granted his royal patronage and the title of "King's College, London." The first resolution adopted by the meeting at once made clear the ruling aim: it was provided that the College should be devoted to General Education "in which, while the various branches of Literature and Science are made the subjects of instruction, it shall be an essential part of the system to imbue the minds of youths with a knowledge of the doctrines and duties of Christianity as inculcated by the United Church of England and Ireland." But at the same time the fullest sympathy was expressed with the growing desire to enlarge the scope of education, and to treat the acquisition of knowledge as an end in itself rather than the means to an end. The curriculum was to comprise religious and moral instruction, classical learning, history, modern languages, mathematics, natural philosophy, medicine and surgery, chemistry, jurisprudence, &c.; and to be so conducted as to provide in the most effectual manner for the two great objects of education as newly conceived, viz., the communication of general knowledge and specific preparation for particular professions. In order to adapt the College to the needs of students of all ages, it was divided into two departments, the Senior and the Junior, and thus designed to offer the most continuous and complete system of education at that time available. The necessary funds for its establishment were to be raised partly by donations and partly by subscription for shares of £100 each. At the close of the meeting a provisional committee was appointed to take the necessary steps for carrying the resolutions into effect.

On the 16th of May, 1829, the Archbishop of Canterbury took the chair at a general meeting of donors and subscribers held at the Freemasons' Tavern to receive the report of the provisional committee. This report showed that rapid progress had been made. Largely owing to the

activity displayed in the City, and to the opening of books for donations and subscriptions at the chief banking houses, the funds at disposal for the building operations already totalled £126,947 3s. 6d., drawn from all parts of the country. After much deliberation as to the respective advantages of twenty sites offered for the purpose of the building, the committee had applied to the Government for a grant of the vacant ground lying to the east of Somerset House. This was chosen because "it seemed desirable, since it held a central position and had facilities of access from every quarter"; and the Government granted it on the sole condition that the College should be erected on a plan which would complete the river front of Somerset House at its eastern extremity in accordance with the original design of Sir William Chambers. In the choice of an architect to carry out the idea, no difficulty was experienced, the appointment falling to Mr. Robert Smirke, who, besides being Treasurer of the Royal Academy and Architect to the Board of Works, occupied an eminent position among architects in virtue of his great public works at the General Post Office and the British Museum.¹ The plans which had been drawn up comprehended a chapel, a public hall, a library and museum, ten lecture-rooms, a house for the

¹ Robert Smirke was born in London on the 1st of October, 1781. At the age of fifteen he entered the Royal Academy schools at Somerset House, and was soon afterwards articled to Sir John Soane, architect of the Bank of England. In 1799 he gained the Academy's gold medal by a design for a National Gallery. From 1801 to 1805 he studied the great buildings of Italy, Sicily, and Greece. On his return to England he was occupied in carrying out his designs at Lowther and Eastnor Castles, buildings in the mediæval style which he used occasionally in later works, though for the most part his style was severely classical. To his abilities the Metropolis is indebted for several of its finest buildings—the Mint, erected 1809–11, the General Post Office (1823–27), the British Museum (1823–47), King's College (1828–34), the Custom House (central portion), the College of Physicians (1825), and the Junior United Service Club. Smirke was elected A.R.A. in 1808, and R.A. in 1811. He was Treasurer of the Academy from 1820 to 1850. In 1832 he received the honour of knighthood. He died the 18th of April, 1867.

Principal, and apartments for the various professors, together with such other rooms as would be found necessary for carrying on the business of the institution with reference to the Senior Department. Owing to the peculiar nature of the ground, extensive accommodation would be obtainable in the lower part of the building, where it was proposed to locate the whole of the Junior Department. Mr. Smirke's estimate of the cost of the operations demanded an outlay of £170,000, made up of four items :—

Completion of the proposed buildings	...	...	£140,000
Furniture	...	...	10,000
Purchase of a house standing on the site and of two houses for an opening into the Strand	...	...	17,000
Incidental expenses	...	...	3,000

After this statement of the position, it was resolved to prosecute the design with the utmost speed. Specifications for the construction of the College were drawn up in July, on the 29th of August a tender was accepted for erecting the carcase or shell of the entire building at a cost of £63,947, and on the 10th of September, 1829, the works were commenced.

The College was incorporated by a Charter granted under the Royal Seal on the 14th of August, 1829, and thereafter all arrangements connected with it were in the hands of a Council nominated in the Charter. This Council reported annually to the Court of Governors and Proprietors, which consisted of forty-two members, nine of whom were official Governors, one the Treasurer, eight Life Governors, and a Committee of twenty-four members, of whom six retired each year and were replaced by an equal number elected by the Proprietors from a list prepared by the Governors. The visitation of the College was undertaken by the Archbishop of Canterbury; and the Archbishop of York, the Lord Chancellor, the Bishop of London, the

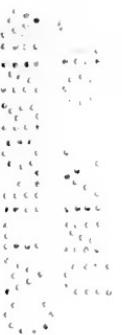
Dean of St. Paul's and the Dean of Westminster, representing the Church of England, were among the Governors *ex officio*. In later years the composition of the Governing body has been modified only as to the nomination of one representative each by the London and the Surrey County Councils.

Concerning the site occupied by the College, much has been told in an earlier chapter in connection with the building of old Somerset House. It forms the eastern portion of the space which was "made level ground in 1549." Prior to that date it was probably occupied partly by Chester Inn, and the "fair coemitory," of which Stow speaks in reference to the Church of Our Lady and the Innocents at the Strand. During the reign of Elizabeth it was a piece of garden ground attached to Somerset House, and when Anne of Denmark came to reside there she leased it to John Gerrard, the famous herbarist, who had access to it through a door in the wall which fenced it on the side of Strand Bridge Lane. Very shortly afterwards, however, Anne recovered it for the extensions she proposed making in her palace. The northern part was then covered by the new buildings, and the remainder ran down to the river in two broad terraces laid out as a formal garden. At the demolition of old Somerset House the ground was again cleared, and had Sir William Chambers's design for the reconstruction been fully carried out, a row of private houses corresponding with the official residences attached to the Admiralty on the west side of the Quadrangle would have occupied the site, and the College might have stood anywhere but in its present position. Want of funds, no doubt, explained the limitation of Chambers's plan. Part of the roadway leading to the terrace and the subway to the landing-place for boats, were indeed constructed, but the remaining space was left unoccupied except by a builder's yard attached to the Office of Works.



RIVER FRONT FROM EAST (1806), SHOWING SITE OF KING'S COLLEGE.

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When the operations were suspended, many who had in view the completion of the magnificent frontage designed towards the river, gave public expression to their disappointment, and though the Government of the day forbore to take action, it was not allowed to lose sight of the original project. In 1819, a letter addressed to the Earl of Liverpool, then Prime Minister, by John Wilson Croker, LL.D., F.R.S., urged the completion of a new wing on the east of Somerset House for a National Gallery of Painting and Sculpture, and the purchase of the brick houses crowding the Strand front, in order that the façade on that side might be extended in harmony with Chambers' design. But to such appeals, however reasonably supported, a British Cabinet invariably wails its *non possumus*. The ground remained vacant, and when the Provisional Committee of the friends of King's College offered to remove the reproach of the unfinished façade without assistance from the public purse, probably the official heart was glad.

The building thus provided for has a frontage of 304 feet towards the west, and an extreme depth of 120 feet in the central section. It represents one of the more important undertakings of Sir Robert Smirke, and though designed in the same style as Somerset House, is an individual and characteristic work. Like Somerset House, it is in five storeys, two below the ground level and three above; and, in keeping with the recognised qualities of Smirke's designs, its contour is severe and the treatment sombre and dignified, with few ornamental features. The façade consists of a centre and two wings, all slightly advanced from the body of the structure. The first storey forms a continuous arcade of windows, except in the central block, and at two other points, where the arches serve the purpose of doorways. The windows of the second and third storeys are dressed with light mouldings, and the sills form continuous courses from end to end of the building. In the centre,

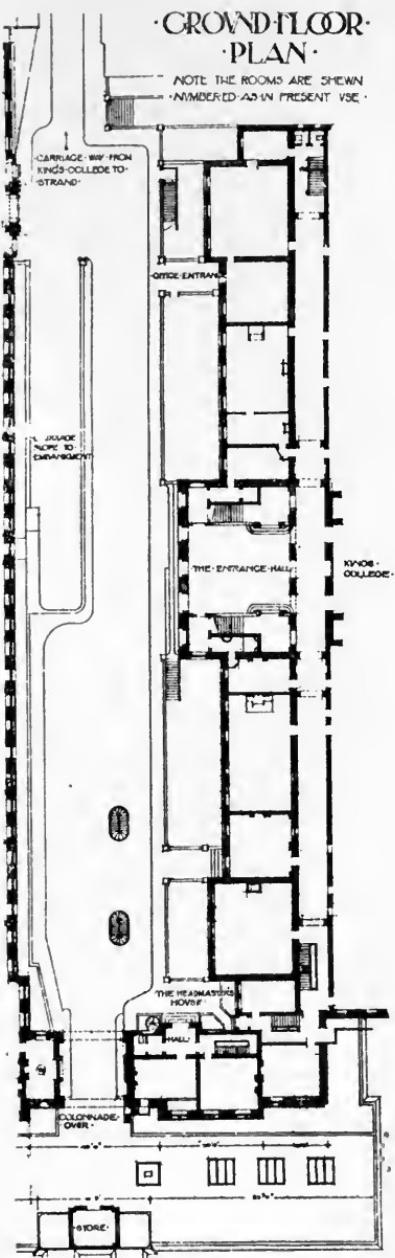
four fluted columns and two pilasters, with composite capitals copied from those of Somerset House, embrace the second and third storeys ; in the wings pilasters take the place of the columns. Correcting the error into which Chambers had fallen by the too extensive rustication of the wall spaces, Smirke left the whole surface smooth, with the result that it maintains a general air of cleanliness as compared with the grimy appearance of the great Quadrangle when seen in a dismal light. The building reflects the Northern temperament, which Smirke had inherited from his father, a clever, but eccentric Cumbrian painter. There is a cold solemnity in its general aspect, and yet a suggestion of the massive grandeur which was afterwards so triumphantly achieved in his masterpiece, the British Museum.

As regards the interior plan, a spacious entrance-hall, embracing both the first and second storeys, fills the central portion in front ; in the rear of this, on the ground floor, is a room, 72 feet long by 52 feet wide, for examination purposes and public occasions, above which, on the first floor, is a chapel providing seats for seven or eight hundred students. Occupying the same position on the lower ground floor is the large schoolroom of the junior department. Ten principal lecture-rooms, designed to accommodate at least two thousand students, and the various laboratories, class-rooms, &c., are conveniently arranged in the remainder of the building. Two extensive suites on the first floor are, however, occupied by the Library and the Museum. The principal's house is placed on the river front, whence a magnificent panorama unfolds itself in all directions.

The foundations of the whole edifice were in position by the beginning of May, 1830, and early in October, 1831, portions of the superstructure were so far advanced as to admit of a commencement of the educational work of the College. At the formal opening a service was held in the

GROUND FLOOR PLAN

NOTE THE ROOMS ARE SHewn
NUMBERED AS IN PRESENT USE.



*From a drawing by Mr. Harold Hillyer, reproduced by his kind permission
and that of the Editor of "The British Architect."*

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1940-1945

chapel, and the Bishop of London (Blomfield), in the course of his sermon on "the Combination of Religious Instruction with Intellectual Culture," again enunciated the ruling object of the new institution. "Our desire," he said, "is to erect the shrine of Science and Literature within the precincts of the Sanctuary ; to lay the foundations of public usefulness and individual happiness on the ground of right principles ; and to promote the best interests of Society by methods which tend to the glory of God." During the term thus inaugurated introductory lectures were delivered by G. T. Burnett, in Botany ; J. F. Daniell, F.R.S., in Chemistry ; J. Anstice, in Classical Literature ; Gabriel Rossetti, in Italian ; L. T. Ventouillac, in French ; and A. Bernays, in German. The first lecture at the separate opening of the Medical Department, in 1832, was delivered by Professor Green ; and in the same term the first lecture in Hebrew and Rabbinical literature was given by Professor Alexander. But although the College now remained open and carried on effective work, only those rooms had been finished which were necessary for a beginning. Much of the edifice was still uncompleted in 1833, and not until 1834 were the operations ended.

Under the direction of the Reverend William Otter, M.A. (afterwards Bishop of Chichester), who had been appointed its first principal, the College quickly attracted a large number of students. It had first its Department of Liberal Education, including that which was originally called the "Senior Department," but which became known a little later as the "Department of General Literature and Science," and the School, at first called the "Junior Department," and intended to serve as a preparation for the Senior Department. To these was soon added the earliest of the technical schools, viz., the Medical Department. For general instruction both in the College and in the School came those who, while they wanted still to take up Latin

and Greek, desired to be taught other subjects also—mathematics, modern languages, and physics ; and as it was not then the fashion to keep boys at school up to nineteen or twenty years of age, the Senior Department received not only those who intended to enter professions directly from it, but also many who were going on to the Universities, and who found in the larger and freer system of the College what they could not then gain at the Public Schools. In those days the number of occasional students attending this or that course of lectures was much larger in comparison with the number of matriculated students able to take up the full prescribed course than it has been more recently. Thus in 1833 the number of matriculated students was 186, as compared with 429 occasional students, while in 1880 (excluding the Evening Classes) the proportion had changed to 350 and 58. It is thus seen that the general tendency at King's College has been to follow out a regular scheme of instruction rather than any special branch of study.

In 1838 the rise of the engineering profession in connection with the advent of the steam locomotive brought about the establishment of a second technical school, at first called the Engineering Department, but afterwards enlarging its scope under the more comprehensive title of the "Department of Applied Sciences." At the outset it was in idea simply a technical school. But its curriculum included a fuller study than had hitherto been found possible of the Physical Sciences, and this theoretical element by and by gained a position of co-ordinate importance with the more particular studies of engineering.

The King's College Hospital was instituted in 1839, partly with the aim of increasing the general efficiency of the Medical School, and partly also for the relief of the distressed poor in Clare Market and the surrounding district, at that time one of the most densely-peopled quarters of London. At first the hospital occupied an old building

in Portugal Street, formerly used as a workhouse. There it was opened in April, 1840, with fifty of the one hundred and twenty beds it was thought capable of furnishing. The arrangement was, however, only a temporary one. As soon as sufficient funds were available it was resolved to erect a new building designed in accordance with more modern ideas, and equipped in every department with the best appliances. Accordingly building operations were begun in 1852, and gradually, as funds came to hand, the whole design was completed. By the end of 1861 the new hospital had been placed in full working order at a cost exceeding £100,000. This was the first hospital in London to entrust the superintendence of its nursing to the voluntary devotion of a sisterhood.

A separate Theological Department was established in 1847, under the principalship of Dr. Jelf, with the object of preparing both graduates and non-graduates for holy orders. The multiplication of small benefices and the dearth of candidates for the ministry had rendered the establishment of a school such as was now opened almost a necessity. Of its earlier professors two have since been widely honoured—the Rev. Frederick Denison Maurice and the Rev. (afterwards Archbishop) Chenevix Trench. It was one of the first theological colleges in England to receive non-graduates, and its success stimulated the formation of many others now organised on similar lines. In connection with its early work arose the only controversy which has disturbed the College since its foundation. In consequence of the publication of a volume of theological essays by the Rev. F. D. Maurice, advancing certain speculations on the subject of punishment after death, the Council called upon him in 1853 to resign his Professorship of Ecclesiastical History, deeming his speculations of "dangerous tendency, and calculated to unsettle the minds of the students."

During the year 1856 a great development was made in the system of teaching by the introduction of evening classes. These offered to a different class of student, under different conditions, the same branches of learning as were already provided in the morning classes, and preserved as much of fulness and continuous arrangement as was possible in the altered circumstances. They attracted men, who, though engaged during the day in various occupations, had yet time and the intellectual energy for evening work ; and from the outset they were found to supply a real need. Arrangements were eventually made by which students of these classes might attain the Associateship of the College, and courses of technical education were organised in connection with them. In 1854, when the Home Civil Service was reformed, and the influence of patronage gave place to competitive examinations, daily lectures were provided for intending candidates, but these were soon afterwards transferred to the department of the evening classes, and ever since have secured a large attendance and successful results.

Another addition to the scheme was the Oriental Section, formed in 1861 with a view to the further instruction in Oriental languages and Indian law of successful competitors for appointments in the Indian Civil Service. But when it was found that the knowledge absolutely necessary could be acquired under private tutors without the more systematic study demanded at the College the section received decreasing support, and was eventually dropped.

The year 1880 was marked by the opening of the Schools of Practical Art, complementary to the regular instruction in drawing supplied both in the College and the School. A Professorship of Practical Fine Art (that is, of fine art applied to various manufactures) was founded and partially endowed by the City and Guilds of London Technical Institute. In the same year, through the interest

THE CHAPEL, KING'S COLLEGE.

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and aid of that Institute, a Metallurgical School and Laboratory was equipped for effective work.

The jubilee of the College was celebrated in 1881 by the addition of the Women's Department, now conducted at 13, Kensington Square. It had the object of extending to the higher education of women the work which the College, during the fifty years just past, had done for men. Though carried on in a separate locality, this department forms an integral part of the College, and has been attended with marked success.

Of the structural alterations which have taken place since the completion of the building in 1834, those applied in the remodelling and decoration of the chapel are important. They were designed and partly carried out under the superintendence of the late Sir George Gilbert Scott, and though begun in the early seventies, were not finished until 1881. The addition of an apse to receive the altar, and the elaborate decorations in colour, have produced a most effective interior.

In the semi-dome of the apse is a representation of the Saviour in majesty with adoring angels. The carved cornice from which the semi-dome springs is richly gilt, and beneath it the wall spaces are diapered in quiet colour. The dado is of alabaster inlaid with fine marbles. The arcades sustaining the clerestory are treated with colour and gold in lines and medallions conforming with the structural details of the architecture. In the spandrels of the arches are figures of S. Clement of Alexandria, S. Athanasius, S. Chrysostom, S. Basil, S. Ambrose, S. Augustine, S. Jerome, S. Gregory, Richard Hooker, Lancelot Andrews, Jeremy Taylor, and John Pearson. Latin inscriptions are introduced on the side walls, around the arches, and in horizontal lines under the clerestory windows. The iron columns supporting the arcade are coloured in green and gold, and the wall space above the apsidal arch is decorated with circular medallions

of appropriate subjects. On each side of the arch is a large panel elaborately adorned with ornament of a foliated character, and figures bearing scrolls inscribed with the College motto, *Sancte et Sapienter*, and other mottoes associated with the older seats of learning. At the western end, above the main doorway, the organ is a striking feature. The wall spaces on each side of it are painted with an arcade and angelic figures bearing musical instruments. In 1882 a lantern erected in the roof considerably improved both the lighting and ventilation. Every morning a short service is conducted in this chapel, and students, not specially exempted from so doing on the plea of conscience, are expected to attend.

Somewhat later, the erection of an attic storey over the central doorway for the Siemens Laboratory of electrical engineering, and of a Mansard roof on each of the wings, providing additional space for a lecture theatre and the wood-carving section, altered the general appearance of the main façade. During 1899 and 1900, as the result of a comprehensive scheme of extension and improvement in the teaching accommodation, the rear of the south wing was raised by an additional storey. This enabled the Geological, Botanical, Anatomical, Architectural, and Mechanical Departments to be considerably augmented, and at the same time supplied with the latest type of equipment. The second storey of the North Wing was also largely reconstructed for the improvement of the departments of Physiology and Bacteriology. In this way the College has kept pace with modern developments in scientific research, and its students have been given the advantage of excellent appliances in every department.

There is a large general library for the use of students, a medical library and osteological collection available either for ordinary studies or research work ; the Marsden Library of Oriental literature, containing unique and rare editions

of philological works, and the Wheatstone Library of works bearing on electricity and the kindred sciences up to the year 1875. The Museum contains the valuable collection of mechanical models and philosophical instruments formed by George III. at Kew, and presented to the College by Queen Victoria in 1842. Here also is the experimental apparatus used by Wheatstone, and a complete equipment of apparatus needed to illustrate the various lectures in physics. For many years this Museum exhibited Babbage's famous calculating machine, but recently it was transferred to the science galleries at South Kensington. Valuable collections of natural history, anatomical, pathological, *materia medica* and pharmacological specimens have been formed or presented for the use of students. The Architectural department occupies a room some 60 feet long by 30 feet wide, and contains, besides a complete museum of building construction, a valuable series of drawings by the late Sir George Gilbert Scott.

Under the University of London Act, 1898, King's College is constituted a school of the University in all its faculties. The general educational work is now conducted in several distinct but connected faculties and departments, viz. : (1) Theology ; (2) Arts ; (3) Science ; (4) Engineering and Applied Science ; (5) Medicine ; (6) Women's Department ; (7) King's College School (situated on Wimbledon Common) ; (8) Civil Service Department (Evening) ; and (9) the Strand (Day) School for Commerce and the Civil Service. During the Lent term of 1903 the number of students attached to one or other of the various branches was 3,437.

At present the whole of the expenditure necessitated by the every-day work is defrayed out of students' fees, the only endowment being appropriated to certain prizes, scholarships, and professorships, classical and scientific. An appeal has lately been issued, however, for a sum of

£500,000, which would enable the College to provide modern instruction in all faculties alike, and thus increase the efficiency of the remodelled University of London as a teaching centre.

Throughout the seventy years of its existence King's College has rendered great service to higher education and the general advancement of learning. With a single exception it is the only institution in the Metropolis where the teachers and students of widely different subjects, by being brought into social and intellectual contact, are lifted out of the narrow professional grooves and esoteric habit of mind which undoubtedly detract from the value of schools now devoted exclusively to single subjects. Here the unity of all knowledge is continually asserting itself, and highly-specialised branches of study take a proper perspective from their association with science and learning as a whole. The advantage of this arrangement surely cannot be over-estimated. In the application of scientific method to industrial pursuits there is an immediate appeal to all classes ; as a people we habitually look to technical education for the maintenance of our eminent position in the international struggle. But while we thus contrive to preserve a commercial supremacy by development on particular lines, the broader and more permanent claims of education are apt to be lost sight of, and the self-sacrifice of those whose devotion to pure science builds up the foundation on which the whole superstructure of its practical utility must rest often passes unrecognised. Thus, while no effort has been spared to render the department of the applied sciences efficient and fully equipped, research and the finer influences of scholarship co-operate in the educational activities of King's College. It remains as it was first designed, a temple of the humanities ; and the names of many who sacrificed themselves in its service have merited perdurable renown. Among them are counted Archbishop Trench and Frederick

Denison Maurice in Theology, Samuel Rawson Gardiner in Modern History, Bishop Lonsdale in Classical Literature, Nassau Senior in Economics, Wheatstone and Clerk Maxwell in Physics, Lyell and Ansted in Geology, Hughes in Anatomy, Lister in Medicine, Wm. Dyce in Art, John Hullah and Dr. Monk in Music. King's College was the first institution in this country to provide laboratories for physics and bacteriology, and its hospital was the first home in London of antiseptic surgery, the most remarkable application of modern science in the alleviation of human suffering.

Sancte et sapienter : devoutly and wisely. The choice of that motto was not vainly made.

APPENDIX I

THE GREAT SALE

WHATEVER crimes may have stained the political record of Charles the First, and led a resentful people to efface them in his blood, as a patron of the Arts the English nation remains under an obligation to him which it will be slow to understand and undesirous ever to requite. While the country suffered under the narrowing influences of Puritanism, and erudite men rejected as vain and pernicious all ornament and outward display, Charles was quietly forming a collection of pictures and other artistic objects, which by and by stood unrivalled among the galleries of Europe. No doubt it was the gratification of his own desires which induced him to lavish treasure upon these hateful baubles ; assuredly they were of small account to the populace of his day ; but we cannot now look back upon the result of his ardent connoisseurship except with feelings of amazement at its splendour and grief at its untimely dissolution. Charles may perhaps be accounted the founder of our English School of painting. He did much, not only by his enthusiastic and discriminating activity as a collector, but also by inviting distinguished painters from the Continent to accept commissions at his Court, to improve the standard of taste in England. Even Vandyck, the illustrious master of portraiture, was induced to live permanently in London, where his influence kindled enthusiasm among the native artists and inaugurated the succession of famous craftsmen—from Lely to Reynolds—who have modelled their styles upon his own. Evidence is not wanting that the King himself possessed an excellent skill with the brush ; he was not the mere pleasure-seeking *dilettante* personified in his friend George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham ; and at any rate he must have been highly expert as a critic, and catholic

if fastidious, in his taste. His early interest in the formation of a gallery was sustained by the eager co-operation of the Earl of Arundel (the "Father of *vertu* in England") and other noblemen who sympathised with his desires; but on ascending the throne he began a systematic collection through the medium of trusty agents. Sir Dudley Carleton and Sir Balthasar Gerbier in the Netherlands, Nicholas Lanier and Daniel Nys in Italy, Michael Cross and Henry Stone in Spain, let slip no opportunity of enriching their royal master's gallery with noble works of Art. The pictures and other objects thus acquired were utilised to adorn the royal palaces, particularly, perhaps, those of Whitehall and St. James. Many of the most famous, however, were placed permanently in the apartments of Henrietta Maria at Somerset House.

The King's interest in his artistic treasures was both deep and unwavering. His keen appreciation of certain favourite works led him to have them copied, so that in whichever of his palaces he chanced to find himself, the memory of their charm might be refreshed. In 1637 he caused to be erected at great expense a new covered chamber at Whitehall for the performance of masques, because "he would not have his pictures in the Banqueting-house hurt with lights." And one of his last injunctions was for the safeguarding of "his household goods and movables of all sorts," particularly three valuable pictures which he held on loan and desired to restore to their rightful owners.

How important was the collection Charles had formed may be judged from the fact that its pictures alone numbered 1,760 and included 54 canvases by Titian, 15 by Tintoretto, 18 by Correggio, 14 by Giorgione, 8 by Andrea del Sarto, 12 by Palma il Vecchio, 31 by Giulio Romano, 8 by Rubens, 31 by Vandyck, and 23 by Holbein, besides a splendid representation of Leonardo, Raphael, Andrea Mantegna and Pordenone. No gallery, public or private, has ever seriously rivalled this of Charles the First in its magnificent display of the masterpieces of sixteenth-century Italy. But the popular judgment upon the King was judgment also upon the ideas and traditions he had fostered. Triumphant the Puritans purged England of her vanities, and though at the instance of Cromwell a few monumental works were reserved and taken to Hampton Court, the great service which Charles had rendered to his people was ruthlessly undone.

When Parliament resolved to disperse the royal treasures for the benefit of the regicide army, a great part of the collection was accumulated at Somerset House and there inventoried, appraised, and sold. The Commission appointed for this purpose included George Wither the poet, and Jan van Belcamp, chosen no doubt for his proficiency as a painter. Nothing resembling a public auction was

held, but bids were taken either from individual buyers or contracting partners, and the highest figures were accepted at the discretion of the Commissioners. The extant register of these sale contracts reckons the total value of the goods disposed of at £118,080 10s. 2d. in the currency of the day.

To this sale nearly all the principal galleries of modern Europe owe several masterpieces, Madrid, Vienna, and Paris especially being enriched. Other pictures passed into the hands of English noblemen and private speculators; and though at the accession of Charles II. many valuable canvases found their way back to the royal palaces, the unique position the King's collection had attained under Charles I. had been finally lost, and priceless examples of the great masters which might to-day have distinguished our own National Gallery passed to their honourable places in the museums of the Continent.

We extract from a manuscript inventory of the "Plate, Goods, Pictures, Statues, Regalia, &c., of King Charles the First as taken, appraised, and sold at the Several Royal palaces," a list of the principal objects which were brought to Somerset House and disposed of in the great sale which began in 1649 and did not finally end until 1652. Better than any other record we possess, this inventory enables us to form a conception of the magnificent surroundings in which Henrietta Maria kept her Court. It contains, moreover, many curious items: a Magdalen is valued at £10, a saint at 10s, a pope at 1s. Five popish books are not valued at all. A French bed of embroidered satin is worth £1,000, tapestry of Vulcan and Venus £4 10s. an ell, and of Samson but 2s. an ell. The descriptions of the pictures are brief and inexact; and in all but the finest works the name of the painter is ignored. With the help of the Register of the Sale Contracts and other authentic documents, however, it has been possible to trace a few pictures in their passage from Somerset House to their present places in the galleries of Europe. In such cases, where the identity has been satisfactorily established, a descriptive note is added to the list.

CHAPPELL GOODS AT SOMERSET HOUSE.

	£	s.	d.
One coape and two shoulder pieces of damask trimmed with gold	5 0 0
Two pieces for the altar suitable	8 0 0
Two ditto	3 0 0
A Coape of white damask	2 10 0

COVERS FOR CHALLICES.

							L	s.	d.
One or embroidered sattin	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	0	0
Another of purple ditto, with H.S.	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	10	0
Another of black sattin, with Death's Head	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	10	0
Two of green sattin	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	0	0
One of black grogram	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	8	0
Six cushions of crimson damask	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	10	0
Tenn wafer baggs	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	10	0
Five Popish books	...	...	...	...	...	...	—
Thirteen surplices	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	0	0
Eight altar clothes	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	0	0
Eleven borders of taffaty	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	10	0

VESSELS OF TERRA SIGILLATA, OR BUCKROE EARTH.

One great vase, one tunn, one syllabubb pott, four cupps, a long spout pott, a baskett, two red gilt potts, one flatt pott	...	...	...	...	...	...	80	0	0
Five perfuming potts	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	0	0
A barometer	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	10	0
An ebony cabinet	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	10	0
A branch of wild corall	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	10	0
A curious ivory cupp	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	0	0
A gilt rail for a bed	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	0	0
The images belonging to a pavillion	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	0	0
Mary and the Child in the Clouds, in marble	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	0	0
Wise Men's offering, ditto	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	0	0
A Magdalen asleep	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	0	0
Mary and the Child, in a garden	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	10	0
A Magdalen	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	0	0
Christ and an angel, on marble	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	0	0
A child sitting upon a cushion	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	10	0
Mary and the Child with a garland	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	10	0
Ditto	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	0	0
A Magdalen, kneeling to a crucifix	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	0	0
Peter with the keys	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	10	0
A Magdalen in a blew garment	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	0	0
Mary and the Angel	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	0	0
Christ naked	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	0	0
A Pope in white sattin	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	1	0

							L	s.	d.
A Saint	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	10 0
Mary and Joseph	...	...	...	...	...	...	20	0	0
Ditto and the child	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	0	0
Ditto and ditto	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	0	0
A Magdalen	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	0	0
A Salutation	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	0	0
An anatomy in brass	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	0	0
A piece of painting in water colours	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	0	0
One great piece of embroidered work	...	...	...	...	...	...	40	0	0
Seven heads of clay	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	0	0
A Dutchess of Savoy	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	0	0

GOODS VALUED THE 28TH NOVEMBER, 1651, BEING APPRAISED AS DISCOVERED
BY MR. RUMBALL FOR WILLIAM WINTHURST.

A book of Camden's works in an embroidered case	...	...	3	0	0
A chess-table of silver, with 30 men silver and christial	...	...	30	0	0
Diana, in alabaster	...	...	2	10	0
A picture done on glass	...	...	1	10	0
A draught of a ship	...	...	0	10	0
A dark piece	...	...	1	0	0
The king of Denmark	...	...	1	0	0
A chest of Phialls	...	...	3	0	0
Two books, one of the Order of the Knights of the Garter, the other a French History	...	...	1	10	0

GOODS VALUED Nov. 28, 1651.

An organ	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	0	0
A sword	...	...	...	...	...	...	42	0	0
Another, smaller	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	0	0
A piece of perspective	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	10	0
Two old cisterns	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	10	0

RECEIVED FROM THE LIBRARY.

Two cymballs of brass	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	10	0
Two pair of stirrups and a pair of spurrs	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	0	0
An elephant's tooth	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	10	0
A small marble statue	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	0	0
Part of an old clock	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	0	0

APPENDIX

GOODS VALUED WITH MR. BROWN,¹ NOV. 12, 1651.

		£	s.	d.
An old counterpane of carnation damask laced with silver ...		4	0	0
Furniture for a bed of velvet and carnation damask laced with rich lace, and fringed with gold		55	9	9
A Canopy of cloth of silver		45	0	0

SEVERAL THINGS RECEIVED FROM SOME GENTLEMEN AND NOW REMAIN IN SOMERSET HOUSE CLOSET IN MR. HENRY BROWN'S CHARGE.

A garter of blew velvet set with 412 diamonds ...		160	0	0
A collar of SS.		106	0	0
The handle of a riding rodd, weight 4½ ozs. 8 dwts. ...		18	0	0
A silver seal, called the Dutch-seal, weight 32 ozs. at SS. ...		8	0	0
Gold and silver belonging to an old cross		48	5	0
A perfuming pan		6	10	0

A TRUE AND PERFECT INVENTORY OF THE GOODS IN DENMARK HOUSE, APPRAISED, AS FOLLOWS, IN AUGUST, 1649.

Imprimis. Five pieces of arras hangings of King David, 331 ells at £3 per ell Flemish		994	10	0
Three pieces of arras, of Sampson, 155 ells at 2s ...		15	10	0
Six pieces of Charles Brandon, 365 ells as 15s ...		276	15	0
Three pieces of Arras of Vulcan and Venus, 435 ells at £3 per ell		1305	0	0
Eight pieces of new arras of King Hezekiah, 301 ells at 3os. per ell		452	5	0
Seven pieces of fine tapestry of Hercules, 327 ells at 6s. 4d. per ell		109	0	0
Eight pieces of tapestry, of battles, being 225 ells ...		59	0	0
Three pieces with figures called the Council Chamber ...		6	15	0
Six pieces of purple velvet, 216 yards at 3os. per yard		325	2	0
Four pieces of damask embroidered with silver, 116 yards at 10s. per yard		58	0	0
Seven pieces of white sattin embroidered with gold and silver twist, 189 yards at 10s. per yard		108	10	0
Six pieces of Vulcan and Venus, 205 ells, at £4 10s. ...		924	15	0
Six pieces, ditto, 156 ells at ditto		546	0	0

¹ Keeper of Somerset House.

CARPETTS.

						£	s.	d.
One for a cupboard, of purple velvet with antique work, embroidered in silver	...	...	...	...	...	35	0	0
One of purple cloth	...	...	...	...	...	10	0	0
One of velvet embroidered with roses	...	...	...	...	...	10	0	0
One with a silver ground with an elephant in the middle	...	...	...	...	...	10	0	0
One of crimson velvet	...	...	...	...	...	10	0	0
Another rich of ditto, embroidered with gold	...	...	...	...	...	12	0	0
One crimson sattin, embroidered with gold	...	...	...	...	...	30	0	0
One crimson velvet, embroidered with gold and silver	...	...	...	...	...	40	0	0
Three Persian ditto, gold ground	...	...	...	...	...	20	0	0
(Sold Capt. Footh 2 Nov., 1649, for £21.)								
Two large Persian carpetts	...	...	...	...	...	80	0	0
One ditto	...	...	...	...	...	13	0	0
Four Turkey ditto	...	...	...	...	...	44	0	0
Eleven ditto	...	...	...	...	...	43	15	0
Two English carpetts	...	...	...	...	...	4	10	0
Ten small Turkey carpetts	...	...	...	...	...	6	10	0
Fourteen window curtains	...	...	...	...	...	31	0	0
Thirteen ditto of many sorts	...	...	...	...	...	14	14	0
A cloth of state of purple velvet embroidered with gold	...	...	...	...	...	80	0	0
Another cloth of state, of crimson velvet, with A.I.R., A.R., and I.R. in gold	...	...	...	...	...	98	10	0
(Sold Mr. Boulton for £106 10s.)								
A cloth of state of crimson velvet, with curtains of crimson damask	...	...	...	...	...	40	0	0

CANNOPIES.

One of crimson velvet	...	...	...	...	...	95	0	0
One of cloth of silver	...	...	...	...	...	56	0	0
One of crimson sattin	...	...	...	...	...	30	0	0
One of green velvet	...	...	...	...	...	71	10	0
One of orange coloured cloth	...	...	...	...	...	33	0	0
One of crimson velvet	...	...	...	...	...	40	0	0
A round cannopy to hang over a bed, with a golden crown at top	...	...	...	...	...	40	0	0
A cannopy of cloth of silver	...	...	...	...	...	25	0	0
Another ditto with gold lace	...	...	...	...	...	31	15	0
Two China screens	...	...	...	...	...	4	0	0

PAVILLIONS.

			L	s.	d.
One of cloth of silver garnished with gold	...	...	90	0	0
One other little round one of gold and tynzell	...	...	10	0	0
A high chair and three square stools of gold and silver stuffe striped	...	...	12	0	0
A low chair of crimson velvet	...	...	3	10	0
A chair with wheels, of crimson velvet, embroidered	...	...	4	0	0
Eighteen high stools of striped gold stuff	...	...	9	0	0
Two short cushions of crimson velvet, embroidered with gold and pearls	...	...	100	0	0
Seven cushions of carnation sattin	...	...	14	0	0
Two long cushions of crimson sattin embroidered with gold	...	...	6	0	0
A field bedstead apparellled with crimson velvet embroidered with gold and pearls	...	...	400	0	0
A bedstead with crimson cloth of gold tissue	...	...	150	0	0
A field bed of sattin, banded with flowers of gold	...	...	50	0	0
A purple velvet bed	...	...	300	0	0
A counterpaine of carnation satin embroidered with gold	...	...	8	0	0
A cradle mantle of crimson velvet	...	...	18	0	0
Nineteen wrought pillows, some with gold and some silk	...	...	19	0	0
Fourteen fustian blanketts	...	...	10	0	0
A leather cradle covered with carnation vclvet	...	...	1	10	0
A white sattin mantle lined with ermine	...	...	43	0	0

QUEEN ANN'S PARLIAMENT OR CORONATION ROBES.

A robe of crimson velvet bordered with ermine	...	...	20	0	0
Another of purple velvet	...	...	20	0	0
A short gown with sleeves, &c.	...	...	20	0	0

ROBES OF KING HENRY VIII.

Two robes of white cloth of the order of St. Michael	...	...	20	0	0
A gown with sleeves of purple sattin	...	...	10	0	0
Another of uncutt velvett	...	...	2	10	0
A cloak of carnation sattin, with a Spanish cape	...	...	8	0	0
A coat with sleeves of peach-coloured cloth	...	...	2	10	0
A high gown of crimson wrought velvett	...	...	2	0	0
Nine embroidered coats	...	...	18	0	0
Two chests containing pieces of garments	...	...	1	0	0
Sixteen borders of gold wrought upon Holland	...	...	2	0	0

TABLE LINEN, &c.

					L	s.	d.
One sweet bag embroidered with gold	...	...	...	...	1	0	0
A cushion cloth embroidered with silk	...	...	...	...	2	10	0
Another cushion cloth embroidered	...	...	...	...	3	0	0
A diaper table cloth with a dozen of napkins	...	...	...	...	5	0	0
A waistcoat of white taffaty	...	...	...	...	2	10	0
A mantle of hair-coloured cloth	...	...	...	...	7	0	0
A rich embroidered cushion of purple velvet	...	...	...	...	5	0	0
A chest	...	...	...	...	1	5	0
A rich scarfe wrought with gold	...	...	...	...	5	0	0
A cover for bread and salt wrought with gold	...	...	...	...	1	10	0
Another ditto	...	...	...	...	1	10	0
Another ditto	...	...	...	...	2	0	0
A cushion of cloth of callicoe, wrought with gold	...	...	...	...	15	0	0
A cushion cloth	...	...	...	...	2	10	0
Another ditto	...	...	...	...	2	10	0
A cushion cloth of Holland	...	...	...	...	1	0	0
A comb case of white sattin, with the arms of Denmark embroidered	...	...	...	...	3	0	0
An iron chest	...	...	...	...	8	0	0
Four whole pieces of tissue, liver-coloured and silver, 61 yards at £2 10s.	...	...	...	...	152	10	0
A piece of tissue, with a purple ground, 36 yards at £2	...	...	73	0	0		
A piece of cloth of tissue, 10 yards and $\frac{1}{4}$, at £1	...	...	10	5	0		
A whole piece of orange tawney cloth	...	...	60	0	0		
A whole piece of silver tissue, 24 yards at 30s.	...	...	37	2	6		
A whole piece of carnation sattin	...	...	12	5	0		
A piece of silk camblet, 66 yards at 30s. per yard	...	...	99	0	0		
A whole piece of russet sattin, flowered	...	...	28	16	0		

IN A CYPRESS CHEST.

A green velvet carpet	...	...	...	...	4	0	0
A China carpet of carnation velvet	...	...	...	...	3	0	0
A cushion cloth and three pillowbears of lawn	...	...	5	0	0		
Another ditto	...	...	2	0	0		
A smock richly wrought in gold and silver	...	...	1	10	0		
A mantle of linen set with spangles	...	...	5	0	0		
An embroidered handkerchiefe	...	...	0	10	0		
A sweet bag of white sattin embroidered	...	...	5	0	0		

					£	s.	d.
A scarfe of carnation taffaty, embroidered with pearl	...	30	0	0			
Another of ditto embroidered with silver	...	5	0	0			
A cupboard cloth of carnation sattin flowered with gold	...	2	0	0			
A carnation and silver hartelaye lace, 106 Dunces	...	10	12	0			
The headcloth of a bed of cloth of silver	...	5	0	0			
A counterpain of white sattin embroidered with gold	...	8	0	0			
A small chest of crimson sattin	...	1	10	0			
A small coffer of green velvet, studded with silver	...	50	0	0			
A standish of mother of pearl	...	10	0	0			
An eightsquare ebony table	...	20	0	0			
Another table of ebony	...	3	0	0			

IN THE SECOND CYPRESS CHEST.

A box of ebony	...	...	...	...	...	1	10	0
A green velvet table, with boxes and drawers	...	...	...	...	...	1	10	0
A square table of white marble, on an ebony frame	...	...	...	...	...	10	0	0
A billiard board covered with green cloth	...	...	...	...	...	5	0	0
A wallnutt-tree drawing table	...	...	...	...	...	0	15	0

CLOCKS.

A clock in an ebony case	...	...	...	...	...	100	0	0
Another in the same, garnished with silver	...	...	...	...	...	40	0	0
Another in the fashion of a tortoise, all of silver	...	...	...	...	...	100	0	0

LOOKING GLASSES.

A looking-glass in a brass frame	...	...	...	...	...	15	10	0
A small looking-glass set with silver gilt	...	...	...	...	...	20	0	0
Another in an amber frame	...	...	...	...	...	10	0	0
Another in russet sattin case	...	...	...	...	...	10	0	0
Two ditto in ebony frames	...	...	...	...	...	36	0	0
Another ditto	...	...	...	...	...	40	0	0
Another in a frame of carnation velvet	...	...	...	...	...	15	0	0
Another in a copper frame	...	...	...	...	...	2	0	0
A pair of hand irons	...	...	...	...	...	2	0	0
A pair ditto of brass	...	...	...	...	...	24	0	0
A pair of bellows inlaid with mother of pearl	...	...	...	...	...	0	5	0

			£	s.	d.
A chrystall galley upon four wheels, garnished with pearls and rubies, silver gilt	...	...	100	0	0
A fruit dish of chrystall set in white stone	...	...	15	0	0
A pair of tables of white and yellow amber, garnished with silver	...	...	30	0	0
A candlestick of amber garnished with silver	...	...	30	0	0
Thirteen images of yellow amber	...	...	10	0	0
An artificial rock with a crucifix of coral	...	...	10	0	0
A perfuming pott of brass	...	...	5	0	0
A pair of christiall candlesticks	...	...	6	0	0
A curious white ivory fann	...	...	5	0	0
A pair of virginalls in a case of green velvet	...	...	10	0	0
A lute, in a black leather case	...	...	3	0	0
A pair of tables, enlaid wood, garnished with silver stones and pearls, &c.	...	...	80	0	0
A chess board	...	...	2	0	0
Five brass potts	...	...	12	10	0
Five pieces of crimson and purple baudkins	...	...	10	0	0
A large rich French bed of sattin, richly embroidered	...	...	1000	0	0
A large chair of deliverance of crimson velvet	...	...	5	0	0
A rail and balluster to encompass the bed	...	...	12	0	0
A marble table inlaid, upon a gilt frame	...	...	40	0	0
A marble table inlaid and a cabinet of the same	...	...	60	0	0
Two black ebony cabinetts	...	...	5	0	0
Two fine ebony cabinetts ditto	...	...	60	0	0
One cabinet	...	...	25	0	0
An Indian chest	...	...	10	0	0
(Sold 16 Oct., 1649, to Mr. Asqua.)					
A couch and six folding stooles of velvet and gold	...	...	25	0	0
Two pieces of hangings suitable	...	...	77	0	0
Fourteen porcelain water potts	...	...	7	0	0
Two great beakers	...	...	1	10	0
Two smaller	...	...	0	10	0
One great porcelain basin on a foot of silver	...	...	40	0	0
A cristial candlestick	...	...	12	0	0
An ebony cabinet, with five images of solid silver	...	...	30	0	0
A pier glass in an ebony frame with antique borders	...	...	50	0	0
Another of the same	...	...	30	0	0
Another in a wooden frame	...	...	30	0	0
An ebony cabinet garnished, on a brass frame	...	...	50	0	0
A large tortoiseshell cabinet painted	...	...	30	0	0

					£	s.	d.
Two cristial branches	...	...	...	...	80	0	0
A couch of carnation velvet trimmed with silver	...	...	...	...	50	0	0
A black ebony cabinet	...	...	...	...	25	0	0
One couch, six folding stools, 16 long cushions of cloth of silver and two French chairs	...	...	...	...	60	0	0
A carpet	...	...	...	...	2	5	0
Three French tables	...	...	...	...	0	18	0
A looking glass of 41 panes	...	...	...	...	4	2	0
Two red cloth screens	...	...	...	...	5	0	0
A gilt bale for a bed of state	...	...	...	...	12	0	0
A cabinet embossed with silver with a piece of perspective in it	...	...	...	...	40	0	0
A looking glass with silver plate	...	...	...	...	50	0	0
A down bed and quilt	...	...	...	...	10	0	0
A fustian quilt...	...	...	...	...	2	0	0
Twenty pieces of very rich hangings, but most Papish, being 293 ells $\frac{1}{2}$, at £3 per ell	...	...	...	...	880	10	0
A piece of tapestry of the Ascension, 57 ells at £5 per ell	...	...	...	...	285	10	0
A suit of hangings of the Roman Emperors, 331 ells at 16s.	...	...	...	...	264	16	0
Two suits of hangings, the Five Senses, 150 ells at £5	...	...	...	...	780	0	0
Seven pieces of tapestry given to the Queen by Sir Harry Vane, 198 ells at £2 10s.	...	...	...	...	495	0	0
(Sold Capt. Geere, 14 May, 1650.)							
A bedstead with double curtains &c. of black sattin	...	...	...	...	100	0	0
Six black chairs, with borders of silver	...	...	...	...	6	0	0
(Sold Mr. Haughton, 8 Oct., 1651.)							
A window piece of rich tapestry with gold	...	...	...	...	16	0	0
Eight counterpains of taffaty	...	...	...	...	16	0	0
A pair of Spanish blankets	...	...	...	...	3	0	0

GOODS SOLD AND APPRAISED IN SOMERSET HOUSE THE 30TH AUGUST,
1649, IN THE CHARGE OF HENRY BROWN.

A sparver of green velvet with gold lace	...	...	...	...	30	0	0
A suit of crimson damask trimmed with gold lace	...	...	...	...	53	15	0
A square crimson counterpain, tester, headcloth, &c.	...	...	...	...	54	0	0
A crimson cannopy, lined with a sultane	...	...	...	...	68	0	0
A suit of hangings of cloth of gold, 150 yards	...	...	...	...	388	0	0
Seven pieces of hangings of orange-coloured cloth of gold	...	...	...	...	100	0	0
A black velvet bed, lined with yellow sattin	...	...	...	...	120	0	0

			£	s.	d.
A couch and 12 stools of velvet trimmed with silver	...	...	14	0	0
A sleeping chair of red velvet	...	...	1	0	0
A green velvet table, embroidered with gold	...	...	2	10	0
An Indian trunk	...	...	10	0	0
A set of gilt leather hangings, 180 skins	...	...	15	12	0
Fifty-six books of French and Latin, being Papists	...	...	5	0	0
An inlaid bedstead	...	...	1	0	0

A TRUE INVENTORY OF SEVERAL GOODS BROUGHT FROM GREENWICH, AND
NOW IN CUSTODY OF HENRY BROWN, WARDROBE KEEPER OF DENMARK
HOUSE, VIEWED AND APPRAISED THE 7TH SEPTEMBER, 1649.

Imprimis. Five pieces of hangings of King David, 357 ells

$\frac{1}{2}$ at £3 per ell	...	...	...	...	...	1072	10	0
Three counterpains of tapestry	...	...	...	...	...	6	0	0
A damask curtain, of ten breadths, 27 yards at 3s.	...	...	...	...	...	4	2	0
A curtain of red and green damask	...	...	...	...	...	5	0	0
A Turkey carpet	...	...	...	...	...	2	8	0
Another ditto	...	...	...	...	...	2	10	0
An old carpet	...	...	...	...	...	2	0	0
A velvet chair and two little cushions	...	...	...	...	...	6	0	0
An old red velvet chair and stool, with a long cushion	...	...	...	...	...	3	0	0
A chair of tissue, a foot stool	...	...	...	...	...	7	0	0
Three cushions of green velvet	...	...	...	...	...	5	0	0
A cushion of green velvet embroidered with asses	...	...	...	...	...	1	10	0
A counterpain wrought with colours	...	...	...	...	...	3	0	0
A velvet carpet, turned hair-colour	...	...	...	...	...	1	0	0
One cushion with the English Arms embroidered thereon	...	...	...	...	...	5	0	0
A long cushion of purple velvet	...	...	...	...	...	2	10	0
A chair and cushion of velvet	...	...	...	...	...	3	0	0
A pair of brass and irons	...	...	...	...	...	2	0	0
Four feather bedds	...	...	...	...	...	20	0	0
A long table standing upon antique tressels	...	...	...	...	...	1	0	0
A barge-cloth of velvet embroidered with the English Arms	...	...	...	...	...	30	0	0
A marble table	...	...	...	...	...	10	0	0

A TRUE INVENTORY OF THE SEVERAL PICTURES IN THE CUSTODY OF MR.
HENRY BROWN, WARDROBE KEEPER AT DENMARK HOUSE, VIEWED AND
APPRaised THE 8TH SEPTEMBER, 1649.

					£	s.	d.
Imprimis. Two landskips at	...	...	...	...	1	10	0
Six enamelled pieces, three of them being oval	...	...	...	...	12	0	0
Two landskips, of Percelles	...	...	...	...	2	0	0
A small green landskip	...	...	...	...	2	0	0
Mary and the Child	...	...	...	...	1	10	0
The King of France	...	...	...	...	0	10	0
A child carrying a Cross	...	...	...	...	0	10	0
A round piece of Spanish grapes	...	...	...	...	2	10	0
A green landskip	...	...	...	...	3	0	0
A piece of Christ on the Cross	...	...	...	...	1	0	0
The Virgin Mary and King of France	...	...	...	...	0	10	0
Christ and a garland upon Marble	...	...	...	...	0	10	0
A drawing on parchment	...	...	...	...	0	2	6
A hermit	...	...	...	...	0	10	0
Christ praying in the Garden	...	...	...	...	0	10	0
Christ, Mary and Joseph on Marble	...	...	...	...	1	0	0
A lady praying, with a dove	...	...	...	...	2	10	0
A flower pott	...	...	...	...	3	0	0
Soldier's drinking, &c.	...	...	...	...	10	0	0
Mary and the Child, &c.	...	...	...	...	6	0	0
A dish of apricocks	...	...	...	...	12	0	0
Francis I., king of France, by Genet ¹	...	...	...	...	10	0	0
Christ, Mary and Joseph	...	...	...	...	10	0	0
The Nativity, by Julio Romano	...	...	...	...	10	0	0
Joseph, Mary and Christ	...	...	...	...	6	0	0
A landskip with a bridge	...	...	...	...	1	0	0
A man in armour ²	...	...	...	...	5	0	0
A landskip, with Jonas, &c.	...	...	...	...	0	12	0
Two sea pieces by Flessiere	...	...	...	...	1	0	0
A prospect of a garden	...	...	...	...	2	0	0
Four round landskips by Brugel	...	...	...	...	10	0	0
Two ditto in square frame	...	...	...	...	4	0	0
A drawing with a pen	...	...	...	...	2	10	0
Two men playing at Chess, by Michael Corosley	...	...	...	...	35	0	0
A man with a black cap	...	...	...	...	2	10	0

¹ No. 598 at Hampton Court. Genet = François Clouet, better known as Janet.

² Attributed to Correggio. No. 83 at Hampton Court.

					£	s.	d.
A piece with many figures by Frankino	...	...	...	...	10	0	0
A landskip	...	...	...	...	6	0	0
The Holy Family, by V. Gosly	...	...	...	...	40	0	0
Buchanan's Head	...	...	...	...	2	10	0
(Sold to Mr. Bucart for £31 10s., 2nd Nov., 1649.)							
Mary Queen of Scots	...	...	...	...	5	0	0
A piece of writing of Holbein	...	...	...	...	10	0	0
Pluto, by J. Romano ¹	...	...	...	...	20	0	0
A piece, by Holbein	...	...	...	...	30	0	0
A Christ, by Leonard	...	...	...	...	30	0	0
A naked boy, by ditto ²	...	...	...	...	40	0	0
Christ praying in the garden, by Carrache	...	...	...	...	40	0	0
A Holy Trinity, by Michael Angelo	...	...	...	...	30	0	0
Spanish grapes, by Labradore	...	...	...	...	5	0	0
Orphans	...	...	...	...	0	5	0
A naked Venus with a satyr	...	...	...	...	1	0	0
(Sold to Mr. Humphry for £2 6s., 12th Nov., 1649.)							

A TRUE INVENTORY OF PICTURES IN SOMERSET HOUSE WHICH CAME FROM
WHITEHALL AND ST. JAMES'S.

A St. John, by Corregio ³	40	0	0
An Aurora Joseph and Mary, by Titian	...	...	...	...	25	0	0
A picture, half length, by Titian	...	...	...	...	15	0	0
A Lucretia, by Titian ⁴	...	...	...	...	60	0	0
A grandee of Spain	...	...	...	...	10	0	0
Diana and her Nymphs, by Sciavona	...	...	...	...	20	0	0
Christ and the adulteress, by Montagna	...	...	...	...	10	0	0
Mary and our Saviour, &c. By A. del Sarto ⁵	...	...	...	...	200	0	0
(Sold for £230.)								
St. John and an Angel	...	...	...	...	5	0	0
Mary, Christ and a Soldier, by Titian	...	...	...	...	60	0	0
Mary and St. John, &c., by Milanese	...	...	...	...	100	0	0
(Sold for £120.)								
A bald head, by Tintoret	...	...	...	...	15	0	0
St. John's head, by R. de Brasio	...	...	...	...	20	0	0

¹ Pluto or Neptune, by Giulio Romano. Now in the Belvedere Gallery at Vienna.

² Probably the picture of the laughing boy with a toy, which, after passing through several hands, was bought by Mr. Winckworth at the Duke of Hamilton's sale in 1882.

³ Now in the Royal Collection at Windsor. Attributed by Waagen to Parmigianino.

⁴ Probably No. 75 at Hampton Court; but the attribution to Titian is erroneous.

⁵ Mary, Christ and an Angel, by Andrea del Sarto. No. 385 Prado Museum at Madrid.

			£	s.	d.
The Duke of Buckingham and his Lady, by Hunthorst	...	...	30	0	0
Ecce Homo	...	...	20	0	0
Mary, Christ and Joseph, by A. del Sarto	...	...	150	0	0
		(Sold for £174.)			
A Venus laying along with one playing on an organ, by Titian ¹	...	...	150	0	0
		(Sold for £165.)			
A russin, with Rhenish wine-glass in his hands, by Ferrardo...	...	...	2	10	0
		(Sold for £3.)			
A naked woman riding her husband, by Dorsey	...	...	15	0	0
Europa and the Bull, by Julio Romano	...	...	20	0	0
Herod's cruelty, by Bringall	...	...	3	0	0
		(Sold 11th Dec., 1649, for £3 15s.)			
A woman and a naked boy, by Parmentius ²	...	...	10	0	0
A maremaid, by J. Romano	...	...	8	0	0
A Dutch woman with two bands	...	...	4	0	0
Christ in the Garden	...	...	120	0	0
The Nativity	...	...	150	0	0
Mary, Christ and St. Mark, by Titian	...	...	40	0	0
Mary and Christ, by Vandyke ³	...	...	35	0	0
Mary, Christ, Joseph and St. John	...	...	10	0	0
Diana and Actæon, by A. Sciaffona	...	...	10	0	0
The Nativity, by ditto	...	...	10	0	0
A Holy Family, by Giorgione ⁴	...	...	100	0	0
A Queen like a Shepherdess, by Hunthorst	...	...	5	0	0
The three jewellers, by Titian	...	...	100	0	0
Noah's flood, by B. Fraes	...	...	30	0	0
Christ scourged	...	...	50	0	0
Mary, Christ and Angels, by Darsey	...	...	40	0	0
Christ crowned with thorns, by Bussan	...	...	10	0	0
Pluto and many devils, by Bruizino	...	...	20	0	0
Mary, Christ and St. John	...	...	2	0	0
A shepherdess with a straw hatt	...	...	1	10	0
Three fools playing with a cait, by Titian	...	...	10	0	0

¹ Several copies of this picture are in existence. The original is held to be the one at Madrid.

² Parmentius = Parmigianino. This picture is now numbered 150 in the gallery at Hampton Court. It is supposed by Dr. Waagen to be a copy of the *Madonna della Rosa* at Dresden.

³ "Mary, Christ and many angels dancing, by Vandyke." Sold with the Houghton Collection and now in the Hermitage Gallery at St. Petersburg.

⁴ Probably the *Holy Family with St. Catherine of Alexandria and St. Sebastian*. No. 38 in the Louvre, where it is still attributed to Giorgione notwithstanding modern criticism.

					£	s.	d.
Queen of Scotland	...	...	...	...	...	2	10 0
A courtizan, by Old Palma	...	...	...	...	...	15	0 0
Herod and St. John, by R. Bresio	...	...	...	...	...	25	0 0
Six Saints, by Phetty ¹	...	...	...	...	...	36	0 0
The burial of Christ, a copy after Titian, by Cross ²	...	...	...	...	...	3	0 0
A prospect, by Sochgert	...	...	...	...	...	2	10 0
St. Francis	...	...	...	...	...	1	10 0
Jupiter in a golden seat, by J. Romano	...	...	...	...	...	10	0 0
Christ taken from the Cross, by ditto	...	...	...	...	...	25	0 0
Moses and the burning bush, by Bassan	...	...	...	...	...	10	0 0
Two pieces of King Philip's children, by A. Moor	...	...	...	...	...	10	0 0
A naked Venus, by Palma	...	...	...	...	...	15	0 0
A naked Eunuch, or Managator of Mantua	...	...	...	...	...	6	0 0
Mary, Christ and Joseph with a cock, by Persee	...	...	...	...	...	80	0 0
(Sold for £100.)							
Mary, Christ and two beggars, a copy after Caravagio	...	...	...	...	...	4	0 0
Mary and the Child in the clouds, by a Venetian	...	...	...	...	...	5	0 0
Ecce Homo, by Bassan	...	...	...	...	...	30	0 0
One of the Evangelists, by Jer. Brassanio	...	...	...	...	...	12	0 0
Christ bearing His Cross	...	...	...	...	...	1	0 0
Mary and a dead Christ	...	...	...	...	...	20	0 0
Sebastian bound to a tree, by Contaryno	...	...	...	...	...	8	0 0
A battle of the Sabians	...	...	...	...	...	4	0 0
Circumcision, by Starvino	...	...	...	...	...	60	0 0
The Burial of Christ, a copy after Titian ³	...	...	...	...	...	6	0 0
A Venus with Mars and Cupid, by P. Bordon	...	...	...	...	...	10	0 0
A woman washing, by J. Romano	...	...	...	...	...	8	0 0
A soldier in armour	...	...	...	...	...	4	0 0
A piece of Whitehall, by Argal	...	...	...	...	...	1	10 0
A soldier making strange postures to a Dutch Lady, by Bott	...	...	...	...	...	6	0 0
A Dutch lady with a ruffe	...	...	...	...	...	3	0 0
Judith and Holofernes, by Guido	...	...	...	...	...	40	0 0
A landskip	...	...	...	...	...	4	0 0
A pyebald horse in fresco, by Polydore	...	...	...	...	...	40	0 0
An old Dutch woman	...	...	...	...	...	1	0 0
A man with a black cap, by Penterynio	...	...	...	...	...	3	0 0
A piece after the manner of Bussan	...	...	...	...	...	10	0 0
Diana and Acteon, after Springar	...	...	...	...	...	6	0 0
A Nymph brought to bed of Adonis, by J. Romano	...	...	...	...	...	60	0 0

¹ Domenico Feti. No. 506 at Hampton Court.² This was doubtless a copy of the great *Entombment*, No. 446 in the Louvre.³ Another copy of the same.

					£	s.	d.
Mary and Christ, by Raphael	...	...	...	...	3	0	0
The same, by Corregio	...	...	...	...	12	0	0
A man in black, by Tintoret	...	...	...	...	30	0	0
A dead Christ, by Bramantie ¹	...	...	...	...	30	0	0
An Angel driving Ignorance, by Palma	...	...	...	...	10	0	0
A student sitting by the fire, by Lavens	...	...	...	...	5	0	0
Two thieves on the Cross, by P. Vago ²	...	...	...	...	40	0	0
A Saint, by J. Romano	...	...	...	...	10	0	0
A green landskip	...	...	...	...	2	0	0
A print	...	...	...	...	10	0	0

IN THE WITHDRAWING ROOM.

PICTURES BELONGING TO SOMERSET HOUSE AND A FEW TO WHITEHALL.

A Madonna as big as the life (sold for £30)	...	...	...	...	25	0	0
Mary and our Saviour, by Titian	...	...	...	...	160	0	0
A naked woman asleep, by Josephine	...	...	...	...	20	0	0
Mary and the Child, by Titian	...	...	...	...	80	0	0
A man in a hat, by Giorgione ³	...	...	...	...	10	0	0
Mary, the Child and St. Sebastian, by Palma (Sold for £135.)	...	...	...	...	120	0	0
Mary weeping	...	...	...	...	4	0	0
A Madona and St. Catherine	...	...	...	...	30	0	0
(Sold to Vincentio Malo, 2nd Nov., 1649, for £35.)							
A sleeping Venus, by Corregio ⁴	...	...	...	...	1000	0	0
A Madona, by Raphael ⁵	...	...	...	...	2000	0	0
Mary, the Child and St. Jerome	...	...	...	...	150	0	0
Mary, the Child and St. Sebastian, by Palma	...	...	...	...	100	0	0
A Seigneur in Black, by Tintoret	...	...	...	...	30	0	0
A woman taken in Adultery, by Monsigno	...	...	...	...	25	0	0
Christ bearing the Cross, by Giorgione ⁶ (Sold for £45.)	...	...	...	...	36	0	0
A piece of Harvest, by Bassan	...	...	...	...	30	0	0

¹ Possibly the Christ bound to the Column, by Bramante, at Chiaravalle near Milan.

² Two separate canvases, by Perino del Vago. Now Nos. 378 and 379 at Hampton Court.

³ No. 60 at Hampton Court.

⁴ The Sleeping Antiope, No. 28 at the Louvre.

⁵ Sold to Philip IV. of Spain, who named it "La Perla." The picture is still at Madrid, being numbered 369 in the Prado gallery. It was considered the gem of Charles's collection, but is now only a dismal school piece!

⁶ Possibly one of the numerous versions of the original—a genuine Giorgione—in the Casa Loschi at Vicenza.

			£	s.	d.
Venus, Bacchus and Ceres, by Almano	...	...	...	25	0 0
Venus and Adonis, a copy after Titian	...	...	...	25	0 0
A Dutch parlour	...	...	...	2	0 0
Another with figures dancing	...	...	...	2	0 0
Mary and the Child, a copy from Leonardi da Vinci	...	...	...	15	0 0
The beheading of St. John, by Manfredo	...	...	...	12	0 0
Cupid looking in a glass, by Titian	...	...	...	25	0 0
Lucretia killing herself, by Correggio	...	...	...	40	0 0
Susanna and the elders, by Gentelisco	...	...	...	30	0 0
Christ between two Jews, by ditto	...	...	...	30	0 0
Mary and the Child, by And. del Sarto	...	...	...	40	0 0
(Sold for £55.)					
A soldier and his wench	...	...	...	30	0 0
The King, Queen, Prince and Princess, by Vandyke ¹	...	...	...	150	0 0
The late King's three children, by Vandyke ²	...	...	...	60	0 0
David writing, done with a pen by Degen	...	...	...	5	0 0
Spinning, by Phetty	...	...	...	10	0 0
Mercury teaching Cupid to read ³	...	...	...	10	0 0
A dead bird with a pot of flowers	...	...	...	1	0 0
A landskip, with a windmill	...	...	...	1	0 0
Ananias and Sapphira, by Francken	...	...	...	5	0 0
Mary giving suck, by A. Vorensis	...	...	...	15	0 0
Mary and the Child, St. Barbary, &c., by Porensan	...	...	...	15	0 0
A prospect, by Steinwick	...	...	...	25	0 0
A piece of water colours, by L. Van Eyden	...	...	...	30	0 0
The battle of Brent, by B. Franke	...	...	...	6	0 0
A landskip with Greenwich Castle, by Portman	...	...	...	4 10	0
Mary and the Child, by Mirevelt	...	...	...	5	0 0
The Tower of Babylon	...	...	...	2	0 0
A round piece, Mary and Christ, by Lucas	...	...	...	1 10	0
Christ and His disciples at the Passover	...	...	...	6	0 0
Venus playing on an organ, after Titian ⁴	...	...	...	6	0 0
(Sold for £7.)					
Mary with many figures, by Golpitz	...	...	...	100	0 0
Mary, Christ and St. John, by Mitens, after old Palma	...	...	...	8	0 0
A woman in a yellow gown, by A. del Sarto	...	...	...	25	0 0
Mary and the Child, by Morlessen	...	...	...	5	0 0

¹ No. 2 in the Vandyke Room at Windsor Castle.² No. 29 in the Vandyke Room at Windsor Castle.³ Possibly a copy of the splendid canvas in the National Gallery, No. 10, the *Education by Cupid*, by Correggio.⁴ A copy of No. 459 in the Prado Gallery.

					L s. d.
Ditto, by Stella	...	...	...	...	... 15 0 0
(Sold for £17.)					
The Samaritan Woman, by Phetty	...	...	...	...	... 10 0 0
Mary and the Child, &c., by Lionardo da Vinci	...	...	...	...	... 20 0 0
Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, by Francken	...	...	...	...	... 6 0 0
Peter on the sea on marble	...	...	...	...	... 10 0 0
Vulcan forging thunderbolts	...	...	...	...	... 3 0 0
Christ bearing His Cross, after Rubens	...	...	...	...	... 3 0 0
(Sold for £4.)					
Five landskips	...	...	...	...	... 7 10 0
A pot of flowers, of needlework	...	...	...	...	... 3 0 0
A crucifix	...	...	...	...	... 2 0 0
Ecce Homo	...	...	...	...	... 1 0 0
Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, by Francken	...	...	...	...	... 8 0 0
An old woman gapeing	...	...	...	...	... 1 10 0
The Grand Venus di Pardo, by Titian ^x	...	...	...	...	... 300 0 0
(Sold for £600.)					
Mary and Joseph, by Gerofolie	...	...	...	...	... 20 0 0
Mary and Christ, &c., on Marble	...	...	...	...	... 10 0 0
(Sold for £12.)					
A dead Christ	...	...	...	...	... 2 0 0
A Venus sleeping, by J. Oliver	...	...	...	...	... 6 0 0
The Queen of Bohemia's children in a landskip, by Poelemburg	...	...	...	...	... 25 0 0
Three kings, by Dos de Fré	...	...	...	...	... 20 0 0
A woman found in adultery, by Bassano	...	...	...	...	... 15 0 0
Mary, Christ and an Angel	...	...	...	...	... 20 0 0
Mars and Venus, by Stella	...	...	...	...	... 10 0 0
Mary Magdalen	...	...	...	...	... 6 0 0
A landskip of the Brill	...	...	...	...	... 30 0 0
A pot of flowers	...	...	...	...	... 15 0 0
Mary and Joseph asleep	...	...	...	...	... 20 0 0
Mary and Christ, by Lamere	...	...	...	...	... 3 0 0
A Magdalen	...	...	...	...	... 15 0 0
A naked boy	...	...	...	...	... 3 0 0
Mary and Christ, by Stella	...	...	...	...	... 8 0 0
A piece with grapes, by Labadore	...	...	...	...	... 10 0 0
Mary and the Child hugging her, by Corregio	...	...	...	...	... 20 0 0
Mary, Christ and St. John, by Peronso	...	...	...	...	... 30 0 0
St. Catherine tortured on a wheel, by Carrache	...	...	...	...	... 20 0 0

^x Now known as "Jupiter and Antrope," and numbered 468 in the Louvre,

					£	s.	d.
Mary, Christ and St. Catherine	...	...	...	...	20	0	0
The Circumcision, by Dorsey	...	...	...	...	30	0	0
The husbandmen asleep, the Devil sowing tares	...	...	...	...	2	0	0
Soldiers in pursuit of a young man	...	...	...	...	20	0	0
A Madona, after Titian	...	...	...	...	5	0	0
Mary, Christ and St. Agnes of Gerefoly	...	...	...	...	20	0	0
An angel with a trumpet	...	...	...	...	6	0	0
Eight flower pots	...	...	...	...	4	0	0
The battle of Lyprick	...	...	...	...	1	0	0
A print of a triumphal arch, by Albert Durer	...	...	...	...	2	0	0
A woman in wax, by Vandert	...	...	...	...	3	0	0
Susanna, by A. Gentelisco	...	...	...	...	20	0	0
A maiden spoiled, by Raphael	...	...	...	...	5	0	0
Another, a copy after Raphael	...	...	...	...	20	0	0
A picture of music books, &c., by Giorgione ¹	...	...	...	...	100	0	0
Hosea with a trumpet, by A. Gentileschi	...	...	...	...	20	0	0
A Dutchesse of Savoy	...	...	...	...	1	0	0
Cupid, by Guido	...	...	...	...	15	0	0
Lucretia, by Pardenone	...	...	...	...	12	0	0
A man with a sword	...	...	...	...	8	0	0
Another, by Giorgione ²	...	...	...	...	30	0	0

IN THE CLOSET.

The king's three children	...	...	...	...	...	10	0	0
The Duke of Savoy's child	...	...	...	...	...	8	0	0
Mademoiselle and the King's two youngest children	...	...	...	...	...	10	0	0
A naked Venus, by Palma	...	...	...	...	...	10	0	0
A piece of moss work	...	...	...	...	...	1	0	0
A piece of King Henry VIII.	...	...	...	...	...	10	0	0
A head of Aristotle	...	...	...	...	...	10	0	0
The Queen's picture in silk work	...	...	...	...	...	20	0	0
Six pieces enamelled	...	...	...	...	...	1	0	0
The Prince's picture	...	...	...	...	...	10	0	0
King Edward VI., at length	...	...	...	...	...	5	0	0
The Marquis di Guasto, by Titian ³	...	...	...	...	...	250	0	0

¹ Recovered at the Restoration. Identified with No. 144 at Hampton Court: A concert of four singers by Lorenzo Lotto.

² Possibly the Giorgionesque picture of David with the head of Goliath, numbered 285 in the Vienna Gallery.

³ No. 451 in the Louvre: Marques del Vasto, his wife and two children representing Mars, Venus and Cupid.

							£	s.	d.
St. John, at length	...	...	...	...	...	...	50	0	0
The Lord Lisle, by Vansomer	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	0	0
A man with a book	...	...	...	...	...	...	20	0	0
A head, by F. Salviato	...	...	...	...	...	...	15	0	0
The Duke d'Alva	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	0	0
A Sebastian	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	0	0
Titian and Peter Aretin's pictures	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	0	0
A kitchen	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	0	0

IN THE GALLERY.

The Gods in the Clouds, by Polydore	...	...	...	...	...	...	40	0	0
The birth of Hercules, by Julio Romano	...	...	...	...	...	...	100	0	0
Christ raising Lazarus	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	0	0
A piece of fruit and birds, by Snyders	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	0	0
A sea piece	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	0	0
Sea horses, by Julio Romano	...	...	...	...	...	...	60	0	0

SOMERSET HOUSE PICTURES.

A boy in a long cloak	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	0	0
A French ambassador, by Vansomer	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	0	0
Two usurers and Cupid, after Quintin	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	0	0
A Dutch banquet	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	0	0
A prospect of the Temple, by Stenwick	...	...	...	...	...	...	20	0	0
Three fishermen, by M. Angelo	...	...	...	...	...	...	40	0	0
A picture of Fortune, by J. Romano	...	...	...	...	...	...	20	0	0
A landskip by a sea shore	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	0	0
A prospect of Synick	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	0	0
A landskip	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	0	0
Titian's Mistress, after the life, by Titian ^x	...	...	...	...	...	...	100	0	0
A saint, by A. Gentelisco	...	...	...	...	...	...	12	0	0
The Duke of Burgundy, by Droprombe	...	...	...	...	...	...	40	0	0
				(Sold for £43.)					
The Dutchess of Florence	...	...	...	...	...	...	30	0	0
An Italian lady	...	...	...	...	...	...	12	0	0
A sacrifice, by J. Romano	...	...	...	...	...	...	40	0	0
An angel treading on a serpent	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	0	0
Moses and the tables, by G. Bologneso	...	...	...	...	...	...	15	0	0

^x No. 452 in the Louvre : "Alfonso of Ferrara and Laura de Dianti."

				£	s.	d.
Judith with Holofernes' Head	...	...	...	10	0	0
A Dutch Prince, at length	...	...	...	5	0	0
A story from Ariosto, by Vandyke ¹	...	...	...	80	0	0
Tom Derry, at length, by Vansomer ²	...	...	...	6	0	0
The Queen of France	...	...	...	10	0	0
Diana washing, by Gentelisco	...	...	...	60	0	0
King Charles on horseback, by Vandyke ³	...	...	...	200	0	0
Peace and Justice linked together, by Bulloign	...	...	...	60	0	0
Venus dressing by the Three Graces, by Guido ⁴	...	...	...	200	0	0
The Nine Muses, by Gentelisco	...	...	...	70	0	0
Margarett afraid of a monster, by Titian ⁵	...	...	...	100	0	0
King Lewis, at length	...	...	...	1	0	0
A man putting on armour	...	...	...	30	0	0
Mary Magdalen (sold for £55)	...	...	...	40	0	0
The King and Queen, by Vandyke ⁶	...	...	...	60	0	0
A Hercules, &c.	...	...	...	15	0	0
The Prince of Orange, at length	...	...	...	10	0	0
Christ and the Samaritan Woman	...	...	...	20	0	0
Christ carrying His Cross	...	...	...	0	10	0
The Duke of Orleans' daughter	...	...	...	6	0	0
Christ holding the Cross	...	...	...	0	10	0
Mary and Child	...	...	...	1	0	0
The Dutchess of Savoy	...	...	...	0	19	0
King James with a hawk on his fist	...	...	...	2	0	0
A great flower-pott, by Brughell	...	...	...	30	0	0
A child, or Spanish lady	...	...	...	2	0	0
A landskip	...	...	...	1	0	0

IN THE CROSS GALLERY.

Prince Charles in armour, by Vandyke ⁷	...	...	...	25	0	0
King James, a copy after Vansomer, by ditto	...	...	...	30	0	0
Queen Ann	...	...	...	30	0	0

¹ "Rinaldo and Armida," by Vandyck. The subject is taken from Tasso—not Ariosto. The best version of this work is now in Louvre.

² "With his highness," according to the sale register. Derry was a jester at the court of Anne of Denmark, and a well-known figure at Somerset House.

³ Now at Windsor. The King on a grey horse advances through an archway.

⁴ Presented to the National Gallery in 1836 by William IV. Now at Edinburgh.

⁵ No. 469 in the Prado Gallery at Madrid.

⁶ Probably the picture of the King and Queen with a wreath of laurel in the collection of the Duke of Norfolk.

⁷ Now at Windsor.

APPENDIX

							£	s.	d.
Prince Henry, by Vandyke	...	...	...	...	...	...	30	0	0
King Charles and Queen Mary, by ditto	...	...	...	...	...	...	60	0	0
The Queen of Bohemia, by Mittens	...	...	...	...	...	...	20	0	0
Four Elements	...	...	...	...	...	...	15	0	0
Mons. Duke d'Aubin's wife	...	...	...	...	...	...	80	0	0
King of France, at length	...	...	...	...	...	...	20	0	0
The Queen-mother, by Vandyke	...	...	...	...	...	...	30	0	0
Henry the Fourth, at length, by Ferdinando	...	...	...	...	...	...	15	0	0
His child	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	0	0
Mary Queen of Scotland	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	0	0
Isabella Archduchess of Austria and Brabant	...	...	...	...	...	...	20	0	0
The new King and Queen of Spain, at length	...	...	...	...	...	...	40	0	0
King Henry the Eighth, at length	...	...	...	...	...	...	30	0	0
Queen Elizabeth, at length	...	...	...	...	...	...	15	0	0
The King of Denmark, by Vandurt	...	...	...	...	...	...	15	0	0
Solomon's offering to the idols, by Peedmore	...	...	...	...	...	...	150	0	0
Albertius Duke of Austria	...	...	...	...	...	...	15	0	0
Two pieces of Fame with a trumpet	...	...	...	...	...	...	30	0	0
Christ by the well and the Samaritan, by Fatinis	...	...	...	...	...	...	50	0	0
A Courtezan in her hair, by Titian	...	...	...	...	...	...	15	0	0
A flowerpot	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	0	0
Mary and Martha	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	0	0

GOODS VALUED AT SOMERSET HOUSE.

A pair of iron racks	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	0	0
A rowling stone	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	10	0
Eighteen marble stones containing 133 foot	...	...	...	...	...	...	40	0	0	0
Two plumes of feathers	...	...	...	...	...	...	12	0	0	0
A long plume of feathers	16	0	0	0
An unicorn horn	500	0	0	0

FROM MR. VAUX'S.

Ten marble stones	69	17	6
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AT MR. HUNT'S.

Six picces or St. Paul...	28	16	0
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IN THE JEWEL HOUSE.

							£	s.	d.
A great iron chest	20	0	0
Another ditto	4	0	0
Three standards	2	0	0
Plate that came from Mr. Jolly's	...	...	...	...	...	...	25	9	0
Plate that came from Mr. Sparke's	...	...	...	...	...	...	16	10	6

STATUES AT SOMERSET HOUSE.

A Jewish Queen	...	...	...	...	...	...	80	0	0
An Emperor	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	0	0
A little man without a head	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	0	0
Marcus Aurelius	...	...	...	...	...	...	50	0	0
Caligula	...	...	...	...	...	...	50	0	0
Commodus	...	...	...	...	...	...	50	0	0
A woman in her hair	...	...	...	...	...	...	80	0	0
Titus	...	...	...	...	...	...	50	0	0
Faustina	...	...	...	...	...	...	70	0	0
Marcus Cato	...	...	...	...	...	...	70	0	0
Claudius	...	...	...	...	...	...	60	0	0
Julia Mema	...	...	...	...	...	...	80	0	0
A young Trojan	...	...	...	...	...	...	80	0	0
An Emperor's head	...	...	...	...	...	...	50	0	0
Young Marcus	...	...	...	...	...	...	50	0	0
Young Commodus	...	...	...	...	...	...	150	0	0
The wife of Galba	...	...	...	...	...	...	80	0	0
Hippocrates	...	...	...	...	...	...	30	0	0
Demetrius	...	...	...	...	...	...	25	0	0
A Laocoon	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	0	0
An Emperor's Head	...	...	...	...	...	...	40	0	0
A young Marcus Aurelius	...	...	...	...	...	...	50	0	0
A Satyr	...	...	...	...	...	...	20	0	0
Another	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	0	0
A small statue	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	0	0
Cicero's head	...	...	...	...	...	...	25	0	0
A Roman head	...	...	...	...	...	...	25	0	0
Another ditto	...	...	...	...	...	...	30	0	0
A body	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	0	0
A boy with a loose head	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	0	0

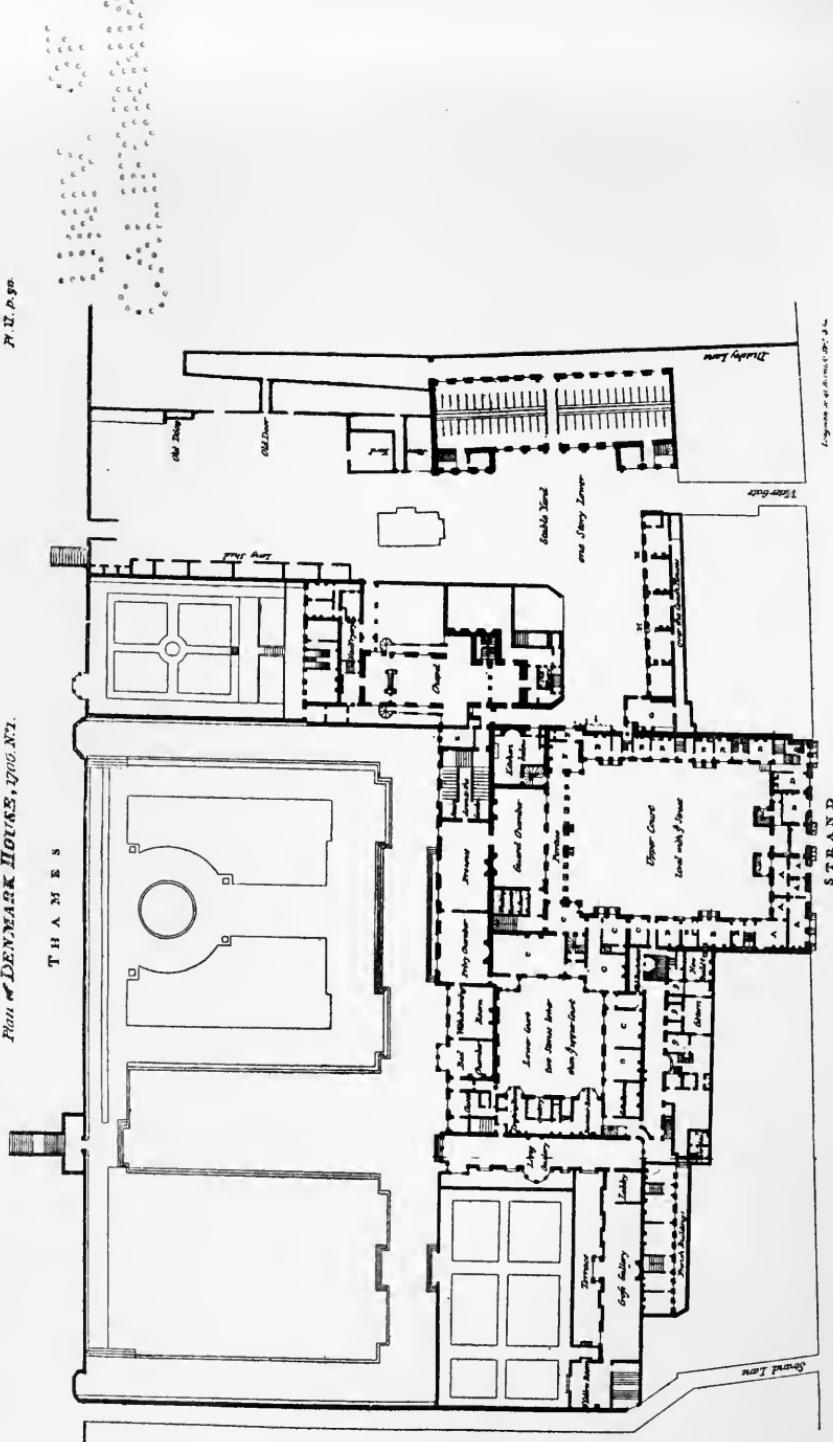
STATUES IN SOMERSET HOUSE GARDEN.

						£	s.	d.
A pedestal of Portland Stone	...	...	...	...	...	2	10	0
A statue without a head	...	...	...	...	...	50	0	0
Another ditto ...	...	...	...	...	...	50	0	0
Augustus Cæsar	...	...	...	...	...	200	0	0
Hercules	...	...	...	...	...	15	0	0
Mercury, in brass	...	...	...	...	...	500	0	0
A crown of gilded lead	...	...	...	...	...	0	5	0



Plan of Denmark House, 270 C. N.Y.

H. H. D. Jr.



APPENDIX II

DENMARK HOUSE IN THE STRAND

AN ACCOUNT OF THE ROOMES, AND WHO INHABITS THEM, AND WHAT
ARE QUITTED, AS THEY WERE TAKEN, OCTOBER 3, 1706.

- A The three roomes on the left hand side of the gateway
Quitted. (in the Upper Court) faceing the street on the first floor,
 being in the plan, was the late Countess of Fengall's.¹
- A Three roomes over the foresaid, } belonging to the said
Quitted. and one roome over the gateway, } Countess.
 Under the said roomes is two roomes belonging to the
 porter's lodge. The East side of the Upper Court a stair-
 case.
- A Under it a kitchen belonging to the said late Countess
Quitted. of Fengall.
- B. The Master of the Robes, in the possession of Mr. Rowland.
Four Roomes ; besides closetts.
- Quitted Over the Master of the Robes, one pair of staires, four
No. 2. roomes with closetts, Madam Roper's lodgings.
- Quitted. Over Madam Roper's lived Mr. Sandes having five roomes.
- Quitted. Under the Master of the Robes is the Countess of Fengall's
 celler, and Madam Roper's cellers and Mr. Vice Chamber-
 lain's kitchen.
- Next is a passage going down the back staires.

¹ Consort of Luke, the third Earl : Margaret, daughter of Donogh, Earl of Clancorty, died January 1, 1703, and was interred in Somerset House Chapel.

- C. Next is Mr. Greenwood's, the Earl of Feversham's gentleman.
- Two roomes.
- C. Over Mr. Greenwood's lives Mr. Laforce, the Earl of Feversham's Secretary.¹
- Over Mr. Laforce lives the Widow Smith.
- One roome.
- Quitted. Under Mr. Greenwood's is Mr. Vice Chamberlain's Porter's larder.
- C. The lobby leading to the Earl of Feversham's lodgings.
- Quitted 4. Over the lobby is Mr. Vice Chamberlain's Porter's Nursery, two roomes, one pair of staires.
- Over Mr. Vice Chamberlain's Porter's Nursery lives Mr. Rose, one roome.
- The Queen's Guard Chamber.
- Under the Queen's Guard Chamber lives Mr. Buzway, the Earl of Feversham's steward, having four roomes next the cloisters of the garden, and one belonging to Mr. Russia yeoman of the Winc celler.
- Under Mr. Buzway's and Mr. Russia's is the Queen's cellers.
- The Queen's kitchen.
- Under the Queen's kitchen is cellers belonging to several people.
- Over the kitchen is the auditor's office divided into four roomes.
- F. The Lobby and old Council Chamber, divided, now in the possession of Madam Mellows, the Earl of Feversham's neice
- Quitted. Over the Lobby and Council Chamber, one pair of staires, three roomes belonging to the late Sir John Arundell.
- Two pair of staires belonging to the same, inhabited by Mr. Travenell.
- Under the old Council Chamber is stone staires leading to the stable yard and the Queen's bakehouse.
- Under the Queen's bakehouse is the Queen's wett larder.

¹ Lewis, Lord Duras, Earl of Feversham, general of James II.'s army, died April 8, 1609, and was buried in Savoy Church.

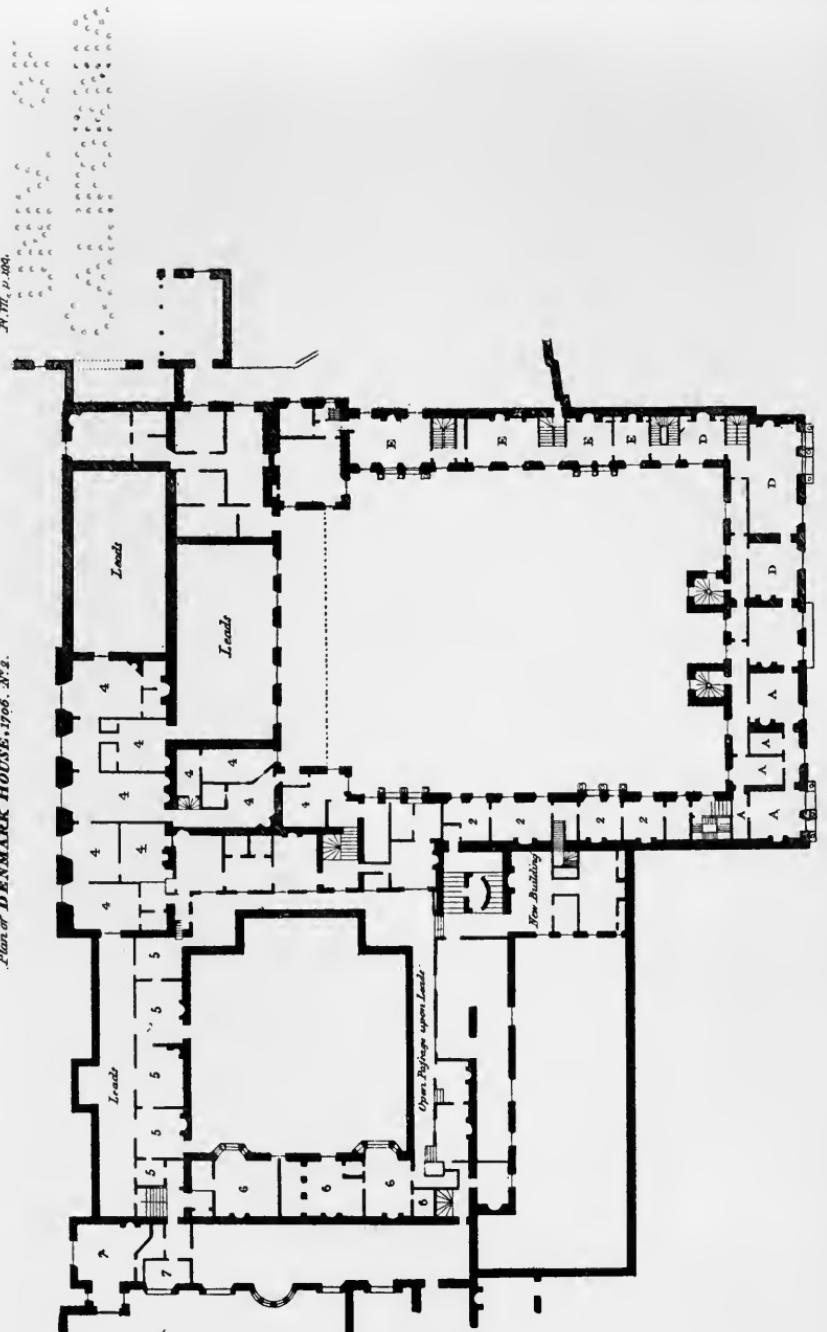
- Quitted. Under part of the Council Chamber, over against the Queen's bakehouse is a celler belonging to the late Sir John Arundell.
- Under that a kitchen belonging to the Clerk of the Works.
A staircase next.
- E. Sir Richard Bealing's ¹ lodgings, on the right hand two roomes.
- Under one a pantry to Sir Richard.
- Under the other a room belonging to the Clerk of the Works, inhabited by Madam Mellows.
- Then the passages leading over the coach-houses.
- Quitted. One roome more on the right hand belonging to Sir Richard Bealing. Over them, one pair of staires, three roomes to ditto.
- Over them, two paire of staires, the old Treasury, two roomes.
- Quitted. Under the first floor, belonging to foresaid Sir Richard Bealing is a kitchen and cellers.
- Next a staircase.
- D. Next the Countess of Arlington's ² lodgings, one roome.
- Over the same, one pair of staires, one roome.
- Over the same, two pair of staires, two roomes.
- Under the first floor is a kitchen.
- Under the kitchen a celler, all belonging to the Countess of Arlington.
- D. The said Countess of Arlington's first floor, fronting the street, on the right hand, coming in att the gateway.
- Three roomes.
- Over that, one pair of staires, two roomes.
- Under the first floor is a larder and pantry and cellers belonging to ditto.

¹ Sir Richard Bealing, Kt., was principal Secretary to Catherine, Queen Dowager of England.

² Relict of Henry Bennet, first and only Earl of Arlington, Secretary of State, who died 1685.

- Quitted. Over the gateway, two pair of staires, one roome divided belonging to Mr. Arundell.
- G. The Clerk of the Works house in the stable yard adjoining to the coach houses.
Two ground roomes.
Two roomes, one pair of staires, over the same.
Over ditto two garrettes inhabited by Madam Melows, the Earl of Feversham's niece.
Adjoining to the Clerk of the Works house over the coach-houses.
- Quitted. Three roomes on a floor, late Madam Tuke's lodgings, and the clerk of the Kitchen's, possessed by Sir Richard Bealing.
Two garretts over the same.
- H. The next lodgings adjoining over the coach-houses, two roomes and a closett on a floor, possessed by Madam Windham.
Over the said garretts.
Under the closett a kitchen, part taken out of one of the coach-houses.
Father Christopher's lodgings between the Chappell and the Queen's great stair-case.
- Quitted One ground-roome.
K. One roome one pair of staires.
One roome two pair of staires.
Over the same one roome, three pair of staires, belonging to Mr. Hewett, auditor.
A cellar, under the low roome belonging to the gardener.
The Queen's great staires going down to the garden.
The Queen's lodgings fronting the garden, from the great staires home to the long gallery.
- Quitted Over them is Mr. Vice-Chamberlin Porter's lodgings, conteining five roomes.
The long gallery.





Over part of the long gallery is one roome and a closett belonging to the Lady Johannah Thornhill.

The Cross gallery.

Att the end of the cross gallery, next Strand Lane, is a roome called the Yellow Roome.

The new Councill Chamber, the back of the Lower Court, under part of the Queen's lodgings fronting the Thames.

Three roomes inhabited by Mr. Cranmoor, late the lodgings of the Earle of Hallyfax.

Under that Sir Cæsar Cranmore's lodgings containing four roomes.

A passage going into the garden under the long gallery.

Mr. Vice Chamberlin Sayer's lodgings, reaching the whole length under the long gallery fronting the flower-garden.

Under Mr. Sayer's lodgings, next the floor-garden is Mr. Killegrew's, containing four roomes.

Under Mr. Sayer's (next Mr. Killegrew's) is Mr. Sayer's landery and servant's roome.

Under the cross gallery, one roome, late Mr. Maxfield's in possession of Mr. Sayer's.

Under that is Mr. Sayer's kitchen.

Quitted. Adjoining to Mr. Maxfield's is one roome belonging to Madam Crane, under the Cross gallery.

Next is one roome belonging to Mrs. Cranmore, daughter to Sir Cæsar Cranmore.

Quitted. And under them kitchen and cellers belonging to Madam Crane.

Next to Mrs. Cranmore's is three roomes belonging to Mr. Thornhill.

Under that kitchen and cellers belonging to the same.

Under the yellow roome is a roome possessed by Mr. Early, clerk of the kitchen.

Under the great staircase adjoining, and Mr. Early's roome, is the gardener's lodgings and grotto, all fronting the floor-garden.

French roofe, the back of the cross gallery, beginning at the East end.

Ground floor Madam Thornhill's, one roome.

Quitted. Mrs. Cranmore, one roome.

Mrs. Crane, one roome.

Quitted. The roomes one pair of staires and two pair of staires (over Mrs. Cranmore, Madam Thornhill and Madam Cranes) is the lodgings of the late Lady Welch.

Quitted. The next apartment under the said French roofe, the ground floor, and one story, being four roomes, the lodgings of Mr. Windebank.

Over the same, two pair of staires, the lodgings of the late Mr. Mead, gentleman usher.

The back of the long gallery fronting the lower court, the Queen's closett, ordary, and pages' waiting-roome.

Over them is a dining-roome belonging to the Lady Johannah Thornhill.

And two roomes belonging to Mr. Stephens.

6 Over Mr. Stephens is three roomes belonging to the Lady Johannah Thornhill on the leads.

Under the Queen's closett, &c., is three roomes belonging to Mr. Vice-Chamberlin Sayers.

Under Mr. Sayer's roomes is Sir Cæsar Cranmore's kitchin, and two cellers belonging to Mr. Kellegrew.

Between the pages' waiting-roome and the back-staires is the Queen's Coffer-roome.

The Earl of Feversham's lodgings fronting the lower court behind the back-staires.

Three roomes and a closett.

Over that is his cooke's two roomes.

Under them is two roomes belonging to Mr. Devive his lordship's upholsterer.

And one roome belonging to the Queen's housekeeper's servant.

Quitted.

Att the bottom of the round-staires, coming down from the lobby into the lower court, under the Earl of Feversham's lodgings, is the late Sir John Arundel's kitchen, cellers, and larders.

Under the Queen's housekeeper's servant's roome, and Mr. Devive's, is the Earl of Feversham's kitchen, larder, and cellers.

Fronting the lower court is the Earl of Feversham's great roome.

Quitted.

Over the great roome is three roomes belonging to the Portugal Lady.

Under the great roome is two roomes and a clossett belonging to old Madam Kellegrew.

Quitted.

Under Madam Kellegrew's is a cellar belonging to the Portugal Lady.

Adjoining to that is a confectionary belonging to the Earl of Feversham.

The back-stayres with three roomes belonging to the pages.

No. 9.

And the back-stayers gallery is the stone-gallery leading from the upper court to Mr. Sayer's lodgings, and the lodgings under the French roofe.

The new buildings, at the back of the upper court, fronting the cistern-house.

A kitchin and a dining-roome belonging to Mr. Laforce the Earl of Feversham's secretary.

Quitted.

Over them two roomes belonging to Mr. Roper.

Under Mr. Laforce one roome belonging to Mr. Rowland, Master of the Robes.

And one roome belonging to the Earl of Feversham's butler.

Under the butler's roome is the Countess of Arlington's landery.

Quitted.

Under the other roome is Madam Roper's kitchin.

Quitted.

Mr. Dey's lodgings called the old Fryery, the ground floor being in the plan.

Under it is a kitchen and cellers.

APPENDIX

Over it one pair of staires two roomes and clossetts,

Two pair of staires the same with garretts.

The Queen's Chappell.

The New Fryery, or Mr. Knight's Deputy Treasurer,
the South end of the Chappell, the ground floor being
in the plan, being four roomes on a floor.

The first and second storeys the same, and garrets divided.

Vaults under the Chappell, part belonging to the new
and part to the old Fryery.

The long shed below the new Fryery against the garden
wall going down to the water-side, part thereof being store-
houses for the works, and part belonging to Mr. English,
the Queen's Woodmonger.

The Queen's stables containing stands for eight-setts
of horses, seven to a sett.

Two hospitable stables for two horses each.

A roome against each of the hospitable stables for the
keepers.

Over the stables, one pair of staires fronting the yard,
the North end, one roome vacant.

Three roomes with closetts, inhabited by the Earl of
Feversham's coachman.

The South end, next the storeyard, two roomes inhabited
by the Earl of Feversham's postilion.

And one large roome by the coachman more.

The next adjoining by Mrs. Heath, widow of the
late Sir John Arundell's gentleman of the horse.

The front next Dutchy Lane, the North end, one roome
and a clossett, by the widow of Freeman, late wife to
the Queen Dowager's coachman.

Next to her two roomes, vacant.

Next to them a roome possessed by Madam Melows,
the Earl of Feversham's niece.

Next to that one roome by the night porter of the
court gate.

- Quitted. Next to that one roome by Sir Richard Bealing's coachman.
Two pair of staires, the North end.
One roome by the Earl of Feversham's coachman.
Next three roomes by the porter of the water-gate.
Next to that one roome by the Clerk of the Works
servant.
The South end, two pair of staires, over the stables two
roomes by Clements, the Earl of Feversham's footman.
Next to him is Cavelec, a Frenchman, that keeps a
chandler's shopp in the stable-yard, one roome and clossetts.
The store-yard belonging to the Workes.

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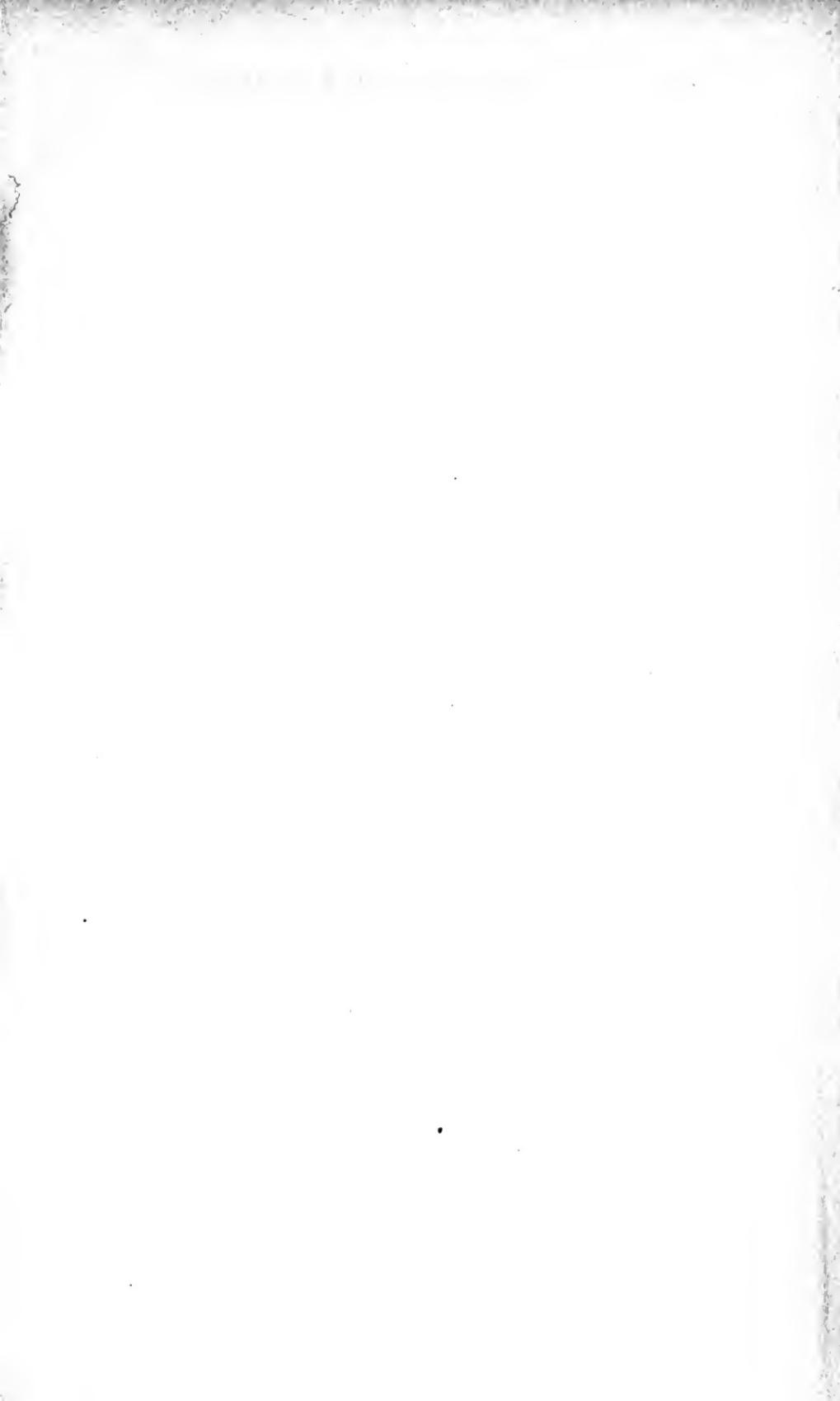
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